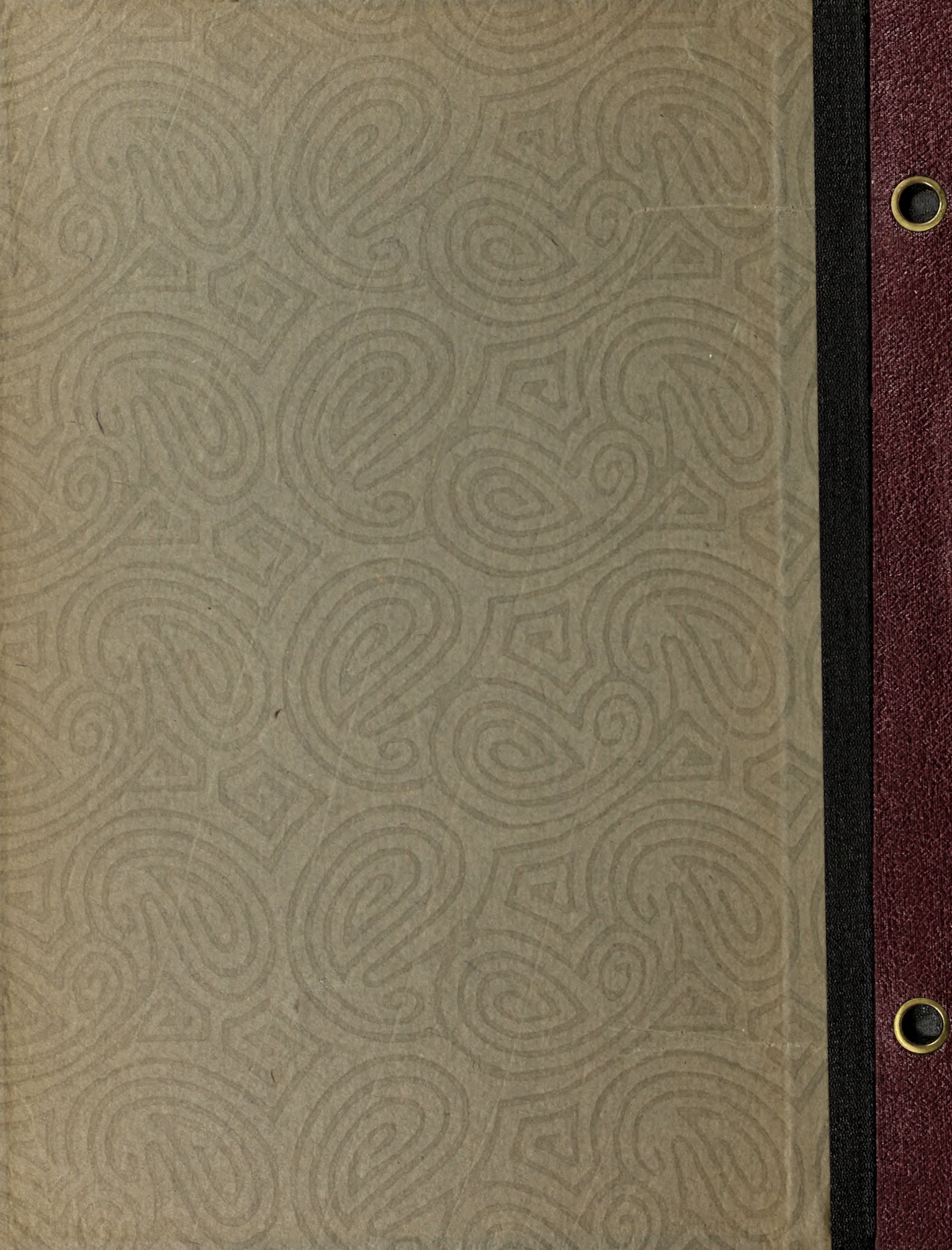


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The Formgeschichte Theory

and the Synoptic Gospels,

by

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(A.B. Cornell College, 1921;

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A Dissertation

submitted in partial fulfilment of

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INTRODUCTION.

SECRET

WHAT IS FORMGESCHICHTE?

A new approach to the literature of the Bible, which has found particular expression in Germany during the last decade, is that of Formgeschichte. Its influence, however, has spread beyond German borders; England and the United States have in particular heeded the possibilities of such a theory. The term in itself is a child of German parentage, owing its birth to Martin Dibelius, who first used the term in 1919. Translated into English it means "form-history". The theory known by that name aims especially to give us a new approach to the Synoptic Problem, fundamentally replacing the traditional theory of Mark and Peter as the sources for the Gospel of Mark, and Q as a written document used along with Mark by Luke and Matthew. It would place as the impetus and the source for the Gospels certain tales of a preliterate form, which through constant repetition orally by the members of the early Christian communities took on certain popular forms which could be classified. These forms were later collected, written down, and put into a written document.

Ludwig Koehler says that Formgeschichte "seeks, through the investigation of literary forms, to arrive at judgments regarding the historical value of tradition," and that "as a method of research proceeds to ascertain first the literary form of the account, and from this form to deduce conclusions as to its historical character. This procedure includes the aims both

THE HISTORY OF THE

A new approach to the literature of the Bible, which was
to be a new expression in German during the last decade,
in the form of historical-critical. The historical-critical method, as it is
known, German scholars; English and the United States have in
particular needed the possibility of such a theory. The same
in fact is a child of German scholarship, while the Bible is
Karl Lachmann, who first used the term in 1830. He translated
the English as "form-history". The theory known by that
name also especially to give us a new approach to the Bible.
Protestant fundamentalism regarding the traditional theory of their
and later as the sources for the history of Israel, and as a
well as documents used along with those of Luke and Matthew. It
was the place of the inspired and the sacred for the Gospel writers
which of a purely literary form, which through constant repetition
grew up the members of the early Christian communities took on
certain popular forms which were of importance. These forms
were later collected, written down, and put into a written
document.

Karl Lachmann says that historical-critical "means, through
the investigation of literary forms, to arrive at judgments re-
garding the historical value of literature." The fact is a
part of research proceeds to ascertain that the literary form
of the document, and that this form is a source of information as to
the historical character. This procedure involves the study both

of literary and of historical criticism." (1)

Formgeschichte attempts to rule out the possibility of written documents until almost 70 A.D. . Our Gospel style results from the sayings that passed from mouth to mouth, which in time became stereotyped; before 70 A.D. the form-sermons of the Christian preachers constituted "the Gospel". The early followers of Christ, who were unliterary men, would not have had the ability to write down narratives and sayings as we possess them in the Synoptic Gospels. The Gospel accounts acquired polish and form through oral transmission. The peculiarities of style and development were so marked that it is now possible to study the different sections of the Synoptic Gospels and make rigid classifications of the material upon the basis of form-structure.

Formgeschichte goes a step beyond ordinary oral-tradition theories. The latter assert that the narratives and sayings about Jesus were transmitted from mouth to mouth, without any particular reference to so-called forms; the orally transmitted stories were merely collected together later as they reached the various hearers. Formgeschichte, on the other hand, believes that these oral stories were influenced by certain structural laws, which gave certain forms to the various stories. An analysis of the Gospel material will reveal the forms which were existent in the material at the time when it was collected and written down.

(1) Journal of Religion, October, 1928, pp. 606, 610.

Historical criticism of the Gospels

of which the Gospels are the basis of the Christian religion.

It is the aim of this study to show that the Gospels are not

only, but also the basis of the Christian religion; and that the

historical criticism of the Gospels is the basis of the Christian

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Although oral-traditionalists, since the time of Eichhorn had, in their individual ways, touched some of the ideas involved in Formgeschichte, Dr. Martin Dibelius of Heidelberg, with his Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums (1919), Dr. Rudolf Bultmann of Marburg a.d.Lahn, with his Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition (1921), Pfarrer Martin Albertz of Stampen bei Breslau in his Die synoptischen Streitgespräche (1921), and Dr. Georg Bertram of Giessen in his Die Leidengeschichte Jesu und der Christuskult (1922) began to tussle with the problem in a rugged, comprehensive way. Especially is this true in the cases of Bultmann and Dibelius. The former, in his book mentioned above, gives us a fine example of the thoroughness of detailed German scholarship; Dibelius' book is less detailed, but is an excellent survey and very readable. Albertz deals only with the "disputes", but surely in a careful, analytic way; Bertram is concerned solely with the Passion Story, which he views as a cult legend.

To clarify the term let an illustration be used: Jesus had spoken certain words about a sower; His disciples, and perhaps other members of some early Christian community, had heard Him speak; the parable was passed on by these to others, and consequently on and on from mouth to mouth the tale was repeated; it may have become a type of sermon for early Christian preaching (Dibelius), or a set form for community teaching (Albertz), but it was used in a stereotyped manner in its final form. Then finally someone collected this tale together with

other tales and put them into a written Gospel or document, which later became part of the Synoptic Gospels. This, then, is the way of Formgeschichte, as its followers view the composition of the Gospels.

Says Koehler, "Die neutestamentliche Formgeschichte ist noch jung....Sie ist die Methode, die zur Stunde mit den ihr eigenen Kräften und Gefahren das Feld beherrscht." (1) Dr. Burton S. Easton remarks, "The Synoptic material, obviously, offers a tempting field to the form-historian, for here we undoubtedly have the product of an oral tradition little controlled by conscious literary art." (2) Those who come in contact with the works on Formgeschichte do find there an attraction and a fascination.

OCCASION FOR SELECTING THE PROBLEM.

The writer of this thesis has been a believer in the theory that Mark and Peter were eye-witnesses, - or direct hearers of Jesus' words, - and that they are the reliable and trustworthy sources for the major portion of the Gospel of Mark; he has held that the Gospel of Mark owes its transcription to Mark, and that "Mark, who was Peter's interpreter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, all that he recollected of what Christ had said or done." (1)

During the past year two events attracted his thinking along this line of procedure: One is that of having come quite directly in contact with Formgeschichte in Germany, where he

(1) Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Neuen Testaments, p.7;

(2) The Gospel before the Gospels, p. 31.

had the opportunity to study under one of its most vigorous exponents, Dr. Rudolf Bultmann of the University of Marburg. The contacts here in the classroom and the study challenged the writer to a more thorough inquiry into the worth of the Mark-Peter tradition; some elements in Formgeschichte seemed too subjective. The question arose: Are there enough objective data to warrant Formgeschichte as the basis for the Synoptic Gospels?

After leaving Marburg the writer grew enthusiastic about the possibilities of an evaluation and criticism of Formgeschichte. He then became a hearer of Dr. F.C. Burkitt in Cambridge University, England, who is one of the strongest advocates of Peter and Mark as the sources for the Second Gospel. The pendulum had swung; the extremes of thought had placed themselves before the writer's vision; he saw the possibilities of such a dissertation as this. At the same time, he felt a real need for fresh investigation of the Synoptic Problem, with special concentration on the new approach of Formgeschichte.

THE AIM AND PURPOSE OF THE WRITER.

The occasion for having selected this thesis suggests the aim and purpose of the writer. First, he purposes to make a survey of oral tradition and Formgeschichte, and inquire through evaluation and criticism regarding the strength and weakness of Formgeschichte. Secondly, he will aim to show the possibility

(1) From Papias', "Expositions of the Lord's Logia."
Eusebius, H.E.iii. 39.15-17.

of written sources behind the Synoptic Gospels, which are supplementary to, and also basic for, certain types of Formgeschichte. Thus he will aim to consider the possibilities of Formgeschichte; and subsequently offer the possibility of written documents, early transcribed, as a supplement to Formgeschichte.

THE METHOD OF PROCEDURE.

The writer will make a historical survey of oral tradition from the beginning of the eighteenth century, beginning with J.G.Eichhorn, the first outstanding scholar to incite interest in oral tradition, and continue with the "beacon lights of oral tradition" down to Karl L. Schmidt, whom he regards as the buffer between oral-traditionalists and those who hold to Formgeschichte; namely, Albertz, Bertram, Bultmann, and Dibelius. He will sketch then the views of these four German scholars.

The next section will attempt an appreciation of Formgeschichte. Subsequently, a criticism of Formgeschichte, partly with special reference to the four scholars just mentioned, and partly general in scope, will be given. In the next chapter a possible supplement to Formgeschichte will be presented. Finally, there will follow the summary and conclusion.

THE PROBLEM.

Briefly stated, the problem of this dissertation is,
(1) to inquire into the validity of Formgeschichte and its

possibility as a solution for the Synoptic Problem; (2) to offer the possibility of written sources behind the Synoptic Gospels as a supplement to Formgeschichte. (1)

(1) When written sources behind Mark are mentioned, Mark and Peter plus the written Aramaic fragments which this disciple would have access to, is meant. Q, in a similar manner, is regarded as going back to Aramaic fragments of a written nature. The dating of these Aramaic fragments is placed at about 40 A.D. .

responsibility as a solution for the Strategic Problem; (2) to
offer the responsibility of writing answers during the Synthesis
period as a replacement to Formative Writing. (3)

(4) When written answers belong back are mentioned, that
and later plus the written answers themselves with this change
would have been in, is what. 5. In a similar manner, is
regarded as going back to answer fragments of a written answer.
The dating of these strategic fragments is placed at about 4.5.

CHAPTER ONE.

THE HISTORY OF ORAL TRADITION

IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

THE HISTORY OF ORAL TRADITION IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

The scholars of the present decade who deal thoroughly with Formgeschichte view it as an outgrowth of oral tradition. They believe that written documents entered in only after several decades of oral transmission, and by this time the orally transmitted material had taken stereotyped form. Consequently, Formgeschichte and oral tradition are quite closely related, as the former includes the latter, and the latter had been making gradual contributions to the former, as the history of oral tradition in the Synoptic Gospels reveals.

Formgeschichte has found its ardent theorists in Bultmann, Dibelius, Bertram, Albertz, and others in the last decade, (1919-1929); the term received a better birthright in this period, as well. But the germ was forming during the latter part of the eighteenth century in oral tradition. Perhaps the tale can better be told by making a survey of the views of the outstanding scholars who have graced the ranks of the oral-traditionalists from J. G. Eichhorn (1794?) to K. L. Schmidt.

J. G. Eichhorn. Lessing said that the original Gospel (1) was an Aramaic Gospel of the Nazarenes. According to Loisy he formulated a theory regarding the Synoptics: "L' évangile araméen des Nazaréens, composé peu après la mort du Christ et plus ou moins retouché dans les premiers temps

(1) Eichhorn was not an outstanding exponent of oral tradition; he, however, gave stimulus to oral tradition.

THE HISTORY OF ORAL TRADITION IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The scholars of the present decade who deal extensively with historiography view it as an outgrowth of oral tradition. They believe that written documents entered in only after several decades of oral transmission, and by this time the orally transmitted material had taken a definite form. Consequently, historiography and oral tradition are quite closely related, as the latter includes the latter, and the latter has been making gradual contributions to the former, as the history of oral tradition in the Synoptic Gospels reveals.

Historiography has found its nearest parallels in Bible, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, and others in the last several centuries (1810-1830); the term received a better definition in this period, as well. The term was formerly having the latter part of the nineteenth century in oral tradition. Perhaps the term was better to call by making a survey of the views of the outstanding scholars who have traced the roots of the oral-traditional material from A. D. 1810 (1830) to the present.

L. B. Alford, leaving with the original Gospel (1) was an Aramaic Gospel of the Nazarenes. According to him he formulated a theory regarding the Synoptic Gospels. The Aramaic version of the Nazarenes, composed for years in more or less of line on which, various have been translated.

(1) Alford was not an enthusiastic exponent of oral tradition; he, however, gave witness to oral tradition.

du christianisme, aurait été la source de toute la littérature évangélique; l'apôtre Matthieu, se disposant à prêcher hors de Palestine, en aurait fait un extrait en grec, et son exemple aurait été suivi par beaucoup d'autres, entre lesquels il faut compter Marc et Luc; les trois Synoptiques seraient trois traductions, 'différentes et semblables', d'une même source." (1) This theory was called protévangile and was put into form by Eichhorn. Eichhorn maintained that the Synoptics are independent ~~of~~ one another; none of our gospels would be a simple translation of the Aramaic Gospel, but the Greek translation of this Gospel would have existed under several forms and with some diverse additions, when it was exploited by redactors. In the translation from the Aramaic the material in Luke has increased beyond that in Mark through the addition of individual parts. Eichhorn analyzes the material and draws his conclusions out of the pre-literary development.

Eichhorn began with the fact of forty-four parallels; from this he conjectured that all were dependent upon a common Aramaic source, written in 35 A.D. by a disciple. Then between 35 and 60 the Gospel was recast, enlarged in some cases and abbreviated in others. "The artificiality of Eichhorn's hypothesis, and the impossibility of proving the numerous accessory hypotheses upon which it was based, led inevitably to attempts in the opposite direction. It was not Eichhorn's hypothesis, but Lessing's idea, which Eichhorn appropriated

(1) Les Évangiles Synoptique, p. 62.

without acknowledgment, that continued to live, and that was revived later." (1)

According to Fascher, "Zum'christliche-prophetischen Missionsvortrag' gehört nach Eichhorns Meinung die Geschichte des Lebens Jesu." (2) The Gospel received its enlargement, in a formula manner, through sermons to the early Christian hearers; hence, his important place among those who precede oral-traditionalists and his position among the Formgeschichte predecessors.

Herder's assurance that the oral tradition contained this material is found in Acts 2:22-39. The plan of the mission preaching is the foundation for the composition of this written Gospel; preaching and instruction have developed in a "form" manner, Peter having formed the material for instruction. So the Gospel is, "Keine blosse Biographie, keine Denkwürdigkeiten eines Privatmanns, sondern Evangelium eines Christus, der in drei Weltteilen als solcher verehrt ward." (3)

J. C. L. Gieseler. Later Gieseler put even more emphasis upon oral tradition, especially relative to matters of teaching, liturgy, old popular sayings. He opposed severely an original written Gospel, because the disciples had no occasion to write; an early written Gospel would have been inconsistent, as it would ^{not} have encouraged that which the early community fostered, - speech inspired by the Holy Spirit.

(1) Zahn, Introduction to the New Testament, pp. 404 F.

(2) Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 10.

(3) From Herder, by Fascher, p.16, Die formgeschichtliche Methode.

From a study of the apostles' speeches he concludes that certain laws were existent.

Matthew wrote in Greek from his own acquaintance with facts, but had no earlier sources; Luke relied on oral tradition, plus knowledge of Matthew's Gospel; while Mark had Matthew and Luke before him. But the basis of all Gospels was an entire oral Gospel. The silence of other New Testament writings about written documents tends to prove this. The material for the construction of the Gospels was drawn from oral sources until the second century. Tradition was so fixed in the apostolic age, that written sources were unnecessary. The Gospels, as they went from Palestine to the Greeks, took Greek form, but continued in oral transmission. "Herder postulated as the common basis of the entire Gospel literature, a Gospel existing at first in an unwritten form, which was, nevertheless, quite thoroughly fixed." (1)

J. G. Herder. Herder was the first ardent adherent of oral tradition; his theory involved the idea that the reports, from the baptism by John to Christ's ascension, were the result of a number of sayings and discourses which acquired their essential color in Palestine about 35-40; then there followed written redactions of Mark in Greek (about 40) and the Gospel of the Hebrews; Luke then wrote his Gospel after using the Aramaic Gospel, seeking information from the first witnesses, and exploiting the catechism of the early church.

(1) Zahn, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 406

Herder postulated an unwritten Gospel, which originated in Palestine, 35 to 40 A.D., in Aramaic. It was communicated orally to preachers, one of whom was Mark, who put in writing these sayings for their use. Mark later published his, which was the original unwritten Gospel, under Peter, James and John. Matthew published his Gospel in the Greek about 70 A.D., which had been written in 60 A.D. in the Aramaic. Luke used the Aramaic Gospel and an outline of apostolic preaching which he had had in his possession for twenty years.

The first three Gospels owe their unity to one Gospel which contained the Baptism; the Transfiguration; the Resurrection of Jesus; the sayings of Jesus; narrations concerning the Kingdom of Christ and His return; and, miracles, about which he says that "ein fester Kreis solcher Wundergeschichten frühe ausgewählt und in den Kreis mündlicher, evangelischer Erzählung gebracht war." (1)

Friedrich O. Krummacher contends that the historical and aesthetic ways of consideration of the New Testament are connected; the disciples have taken certain things literally which we today consider from the aesthetic viewpoint, so that, although we do not doubt the subjective truthfulness which they held, the events which were miracles for them need not be miracles for us. Historic and aesthetic truths lead to different results.

Says Fascher, there "besteht zwischen ihm (Krummacher) und der modernen Formgeschichte insofern ein wesentlicher

(1) Fascher, Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 12;

Unterschied, als Krummacher alles das, was er sieht, durchaus "für die Individualität des Schriftstellers in Anspruch nimmt, was die Formgeschichte zwang genau so sieht, aber anders ableitet, nämlich aus den Gesetzen der Volksdichtung." (1)

Schleiermacher urged the theory that behind the Gospels there was not one source alone, but several sources, which are the works of interested collectors rather than the results brought forth by the disciples; certain ones collected parables, others miracles, etc. In rejecting the idea of an Ur-evangelium Schleiermacher does not believe, if it were the work of an apostle, that the later evangelists, who were also apostles, would find a firm foundation upon it.

Loisy has well summarized Schleiermacher's position: "La substitution de plusieurs sources à une seule, de courtes diégèses, qu'on aurait soudées ensemble, mise en avant par Schleiermacher, en vue d'expliquer la composition de Luc, ne s'imposa pas davantage à la critique; mais une opinion du célèbre théologien était destinée à une certaine fortune: alléguant que le témoignage de Papias ne concordait pas avec la caractéristique de Matthieu et de Marc, il supposa que le vieil auteur avait connu seulement un recueil de Logia un proto-Matthieu, et un proto-Marc." (2)

Eckermann, along with Gieseler, especially emphasized the idea of oral tradition. The fact of no written Gospel until after the time of Paul impresses him that Matthew, Mark,

(1) Ibid., p. 19;

(2) Les Évangiles Synoptiques, p. 62, Tome I.

and Luke were written by later scholars at the end of the first century, receiving their material from compositions by these three. However, Eckermann fails to consider the fact of unity in the three Gospels, since the unity would be very difficult to explain if the sources had all three been different.

D. Friederich Strauss accepted Griesbach's results concerning the Gospels (as being synoptic) and wielded influence on the "Tübingen school of criticism. He looked upon the stories regarding Jesus as free creations of folklore, as myths. He disregarded the results of the past, and went to work independently on his "myth" theory, basing his conclusions partly on the form, and partly on the content of the Gospel material.

Some have maintained that Strauss' important work, Leben Jesu (1835), was written from the left wing Hegalian viewpoint. Regarding this Heinrich Weinel says, "Das ist ganz falsch, wenn man damit irgend etwas über den Hauptteil des Buches gesagt zu haben meint. Hegels Einfluss bricht erst in dem ganz kurzen Schlussabschnitt durch. Die zwei dicken Bände sind in ihrem Hauptinhalt dagegen Muster einer ruhigen und sachlichen Gelehrtenarbeit." (1)

The starting point for Strauss was the question of miracles; since there was no satisfactory solution

(1) Jesus im 19. Jahrhundert, p. 38.

and these were written by later scholars at the end
of the first century, receiving their material from
connections of these times. However, statements
fail to consider the fact of unity in the three
Gospels, since the unity would be very difficult to
exclude if the sources had all three been different.

1. Criticism of the sources according to the

unity concerning the Gospels (as being syncretic) and related
statements and theological school of criticism. He
looked upon the sources regarding Jesus as two
operations of folio, as well, he interpreted the
results of the work, and went to work independently
on his "synthesis" theory, seeing his conclusion partly
on the form, and partly on the content of the Gospel
material.

Some have maintained that the sources' important
work, Jesus (1908), was written from the late
19th century viewpoint. Regarding this history
of the work, "was not even taken, when was made
independent of the work and was completely new source given an
independent work. He also admitted that it was given
known as the independent work. The work alone shows
that in the 19th century the sources were not taken
and were written independently." (1)

The starting point for sources was the question
of sources; since there was no satisfactory solution

of the miracles, he was tenacious in holding to the myth idea. Gieseler, in his theory of oral-tradition, held to the fact of eye-witnesses; but Strauss denied the existence of eye-witnesses; the Gospels are myths, the result of phantasy.

Chr. G. Wilke defended the theory that Luke preceded Mark, while Matthew preceded both. He perceived the lack of accuracy in the topography and chronology of situations, the working over of material by evangelists, and concluded that the Gospels in the present form are not the results of someone writing down from oral transmission, but have been vigorously worked over by some authors. "Er bestreitet entschieden, dass jedes mündliche Evangelium mit den Vorträgen der Apostel identifiziert werden könne, weil unsere Evangelien dann einen Auszug aus diesem Vortrag bieten müssten, der unmöglich wie jene in einem Hererzählen von Geschichten bestanden haben könnte." (1)

Wilkie has introduced an additional significance into Gospel research, in die schriftstellerische Reflexion, which is an argument against the forms of oral tradition. The Gospels, as we have them today, cannot be the result of an oral Gospel written down; they have been revised by the writers as they saw fit. Mark is received in the original, except for a few interpolations which come from legends in Matthew and Luke. Matthew used Luke.

(1) Fascher, Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 30

Chr. H. Weisse rejected the mythical idea of Strauss as impractical for a foundation of the life of Jesus. He held that Matthew and Luke used Mark and approved the testimony which Papias gave concerning Mark: "Mark, who was Peter's interpreter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, all that he recollected of what Christ had said and done. For he was not a hearer of the Lord, nor a follower of his; he followed Peter, as I have said, at a later date, and Peter adapted his instructions to practical needs, without any attempt to give the Lord's words systematically. So Mark was not wrong in writing down some things in this way from memory, for his one concern was not to omit nor to falsify anything he had heard." Many of the topographical and chronological errors in the Gospels can be traced to the fact that Mark wrote his Gospel after Peter's death. Weisse, along with Wilkie, brought the consideration of the Synoptic Problem to the plane of a literary viewpoint.

C. Holsten in 1883, wrote "Die drei ursprünglichen, noch ungeschriebenen Evangelien," the title of which summarizes a part of his theory. Holding to the theory of oral tradition, he further added that Matthew contained the true spirit of Peter, Mark showed the Pauline trend, while Luke was "der Vertreter des nachapostolischen Geschlechts." Consequently, Holsten recognized three forms of oral Gospels, em-

bodying three ideals; namely, the ideals of righteousness, the Kingdom, and the Messiah.

The Jewish post-apostolic Gospel was redacted by Matthew 55-70 (55 perhaps). It was represented only by some verses from our first Gospel, which were interpolated in the Sermon on the Mount; the Jewish-Christian Gospel of Peter was represented by our first Gospel, written in Greek after 70; the Gospel of Mark was composed about 80, with material taken from Matthew for the use of Hellenistic-Christian communicants who did not desire to abandon the Gospel of Paul; Luke, written in about 100, had its sources in Matthew, Mark, and oral tradition.

Renan, in his Vie de Jesus made one of the chief contributions from France in the nineteenth century. His view might be as Loisy suggested, "une combinaison assez habile, sinon tout à fait réussie, où la critique historique des tubingiens tempérant l'exégèse mythique de Strauss, se trouve elle-même corrigée par la critique littéraire de Credner et l'hypothèse des deux sources." (1)

Renan held the gospels as "des biographies légendaires." Jesus lived; he preached in a very impressive and charming manner, leaving aphorisms, which were firmly engraved in the memories of the

(1) Les Évangiles Synoptiques, p. 68, Tome I.

disciples, especially John and Peter. Renan says in his Vie de Jesus, "Ni pour Matthieu, ni pour Marc, nous n'avons les rédactions originales,"(1) to which Papias referred, but, "nos deux premiers évangiles sont des arrangements où l'on a cherché à remplir les lacunes d'un texte par un autre."(1)

"En somme, on peut dire que la rédaction synoptique a traversé trois degrés: 1 - L'état documentaire original (λόγια de Matthieu, λέχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα de Marc), premières rédactions qui n'existent plus; 2 - L'état de simple mélange, où les documents originaux sont amalgamés sans aucun effort de composition, sans qu'on voie percer aucune vue personnelle de la part des auteurs (évangiles actuels de Matthieu et de Marc); 3 - L'état de combinaison, de rédaction voulue et réfléchie, où l'on sent l'effort pour concilier les différentes versions (évangile de Luc, évangiles de Marcion, de Tatien, etc.) (2)

In his Évangiles the view of Renan is a bit changed: "Il y a en eu réalité trois sortes d'évangiles: (1) Les évangiles originaux ou de première main, composés uniquement d'après la tradition orale et sans que l'auteur eût sous les yeux aucun texte antérieur (selon mon opinion, il y eût deux évangiles de ce genre, l'un écrit en hébreu on plutôt en syriaque,

(1) Vie de Jesus, p. LIII; (2) P. LXXXI - LXXXII.

maintenant perdu, mais dont beaucoup de fragments nous ont été conservés traduits en grec ou en latin par Clément d'Alexandrie, Origène, etc.; l'autre écrit en grec, c'est celui de saint Marc). (2) Les évangiles en partie originaux, en partie de seconde main, faits en combinant des textes antérieurs et des traditions orales (tels furent l'évangile faussement attribué à l'apôtre Matthieu et l'évangile composé par Luc). (3) Les évangiles de seconde ou de troisième main, composés à froid sur des pièces écrites, sans que l'auteur plongeât par aucune racine vivante dans la tradition (évangile de Marcion, évangiles dits apocryphes)." (1)

Consequently, although Renan affirmed the early transcribing of the material about Jesus, he viewed a great deal of the material as originally folk-lore or legend. Therefore he is mentioned in the predecessors of Formgeschichte.

Hermann Gunkel. Gunkel's work was within the sphere of the Old Testament, but it is of value to mention his method even though our concern is with Formgeschichte in the New Testament. The material in Genesis is about legends, rather than about historical reports, and consequently must be seen with the eye of the poet, rather than the eye of the historian; these legends are the reports of popular oral tradition and not the work of an individual writer. Fascher well summarizes Gunkel's Grundgedanken as "ästhetische Betrachtung der Stoffe und Ableitung aus

(1) Renan, Évangiles, pp. V-VII.

volkstümlicher "Überlieferung." (1)

He has recognized Olrik's laws of epic folklore in the Old Testament legends, which observe the following peculiarities: There is the repetition of explanations; two persons, or group representatives, are on the scene; opposites appear, as "rich-poor", "good-bad," etc.; Jacob and Esau, the actors and opponent stand against each other; certain laws regard entrances and exits of the characters; there are plastic scenes of a certain duration; unity of the scenes is reached through the main character.

Julius Wellhausen. Wellhausen made the attempt to show that the three Synoptic Gospels come from a common source, which was partially changed by each of the writers. His theory is that the oldest Gospel comes from oral tradition and redacted sayings, both of which the first and most authentic evangelist has ordered and connected together; furthermore, this material has received a certain formation, which was gradually improved until it reached the form which our Gospels show. The lacking of concreteness in the materials recorded in the Gospels points to the fact that the ones who gave the material to the evangelist were not eye-witnesses.

The traditions of the early community, which

(1) Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 39.

He has recognized that the lack of this fact-
form in the U.S. Testament legends, which character-
ize the following localities: There is the report-
tion of antiquities; the records, or strong representa-
tives, are on the scene, especially those, as "high-
born", "good-born", etc.; Jacob and Esau, the sons
and opponents stand against each other; certain facts
regard antiquities and sites of the antiquities; there
are plastic examples of a certain antiquity; many of
the names in certain legends are also antiquities.

Local Legends. Antiquities and the legends
to show that the same legends are found from a
common source, which are partially changed by each
of the writers. The theory is that the oldest legend
comes from oral tradition and related legends, both
of which the first and most authentic
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therefore, this material has received a certain
formation, which was gradually improved until it
reached the form which our legends show. The legend
of antiquities in the material recorded in the stu-
dies refers to the fact that the ones who gave the
material to the evangelist were not eye-witnesses.
The traditions of the early community, which

Mark used, were Aramaic and the original redaction of our Second Gospel was also Aramaic. Although Mark does not represent the memories of Peter, one can nevertheless say that the Second Gospel is the most worthy source for the life and teachings of Jesus. The Gospel comes after Jesus, and were it not for the fact of His tragic death, His name would not be in history. Consequently, since a record of the sayings and events about Jesus had not been recorded, oral tradition was the only means remaining.

Wendling and von Soden in their rigid criticism, contend for an Urmarkus. That the Gospel of Mark should relate to Peter and breathe a Palestinian air is subjective. Examples of von Soden's critical work, (such as Mark 2:1 - 3:6 and 4:35 - 5:43), show diversity in style and development.

Wendling believes that later individuals have proceeded with an old work. He holds that Mark 1:16 - 4:33 and 4:35 - 5:43 were touched up by those whose interests were in the miracles of Jesus.

Johannes Weiss is of the opinion that the Gospel of Mark is neither a biography of Christ nor a literary work, but a collection of apostolic teachings and preachings, deprived of any personal character. With Paul we find pictures which the recollections of the early believers held. Weiss would say that the

apostolic preachings were in the form of documents which Mark used. Loisy says, in summarizing, "Marc a eu des sources, et il dépend, pour une bonne partie de ses matériaux, du document dont on admet que Matthieu et Luc dépendent pour les discours du Seigneur." (1)

These apostolic sayings would resolve mainly into a collection of the explanations of Peter, which Mark formed into a higher, better style.

It was the task of E. Norden to consider the problem of relationship of style and form. As he says (2) the old mission preaching is "unter der Macht der Tradition and formalen Gebiete." E. Fascher says (3) in regard to this, "Diese Stilgeschichte hat Verwandtschaft mit der ~~ne.~~ Formgeschichte, beide berufen sich auf die gestaltende Macht der Tradition." Norden does not seem aware, however, of the confusion of Formgeschichte and Literaturgeschichte.

Adolph Jülicher in his Einleitung in das Neue Testament says, regarding the miracles of Jesus, "Weitaus die meisten von diesen Stoffen, deren Glaubwürdigkeit mehr als zweifelhaft ist, haben die Syn. nicht etwa erfunden, sondern aus mündlichen oder schriftlichen Quellen übernommen, sie sind in der Regel nur für die

(1) Les Évangiles Synoptiques, p. 78.

(2) Norden, Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiösen Rede, pp. 133 ff.;

(3) Fascher, Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 44.

Form verantwortlich." (1) And "Gleichwohl sind die syn. Evgl. nicht bloß als religiöse Erbauungsbücher, sondern auch als Quellen für die Geschichte Jesu von unschätzbarem Wert." (2)

He would assume three periods in which our Gospels took shape: 1 - "die der mündlichen Fortpflanzung, 30-60, wo die Inhaber der Tradition, unbekümmert um die Wünsche zukünftiger Geschlechter, aber durch die religiösen Aufgaben der Gegenwart gezwungen, die Hauptbestandteile der evangelischen Geschichte in der Erinnerung der Gemeinde lebendig erhalten;" 2 - "die der synoptischen Aufzeichnung, 60-100;" 3 - "nach 100 die der apokryphischen Evangelienfabrication, wo die lebendige Tradition versiegt ist." (3)

However it is in his Gleichnissereden Jesu that Jülicher shows his intimate relationship to Formgeschichte. His influence is shown, Fascher says, in "doppelter Beziehung."....."Es hat erstens durch Klarstellung der einzelnen 'literarischen Gattungen,' die ja auch der Formgeschichte am Herzen liegt, wichtige Vorarbeit geleistet;zweitens hat Jülicher für die Traditionsgeschichte der Gleichnisse schon das Wesentliche gesagt."(4) What Jülicher really does is to employ Olrik's laws of epic folklore (mentioned in the resume of Gunkel's view) to the parables of Jesus.

(1) Adolph Jülicher, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, p.229;

(2) Ibid., p. 230;

(3) Adolph Jülicher, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, p.237;

(4) Fascher, Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p.45.

One who has done much to make the way clear for Formgeschichte today, and whom we might place as the connecting link between the predecessors of Formgeschichte and the four main theorists today, (Bultmann, Bertram, Dibelius and Albertz), is Karl L. Schmidt. Two important works, Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu and "Die Stellung der Evangelien in der Allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte" make great contributions.

As compared with literature of the ages, the Gospels are "Kleinliteratur", while the writings of Xenophon, Socrates, etc., are "Hochliteratur". "Die christliche Überlieferung, auf's Ganze gesehen, ungelehrten Leuten anvertraut war (1)... Das evangelium ist von Haus aus nicht Hochliteratur, sondern Kleinliteratur, nicht individuelle Schriftstellerleistung, sondern Volksbuch, nicht Biographie, sondern Kultlegende." (2) Hence we see here much that is in harmony with the views of Bertram, Bultmann, and Dibelius.

Schmidt well summarizes his approach on page five of the Vorwort in Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesus, "Das historische Problem ist deshalb so kompliziert, weil es zunächst ein literarisches ist. Erst dann, wenn die Literarkritik gegeben ist, kann der Historiker den in den Evangelien gegebenen Aufriss der Geschichte Jesu verwerten. Meine Einzeluntersuchungen werden zeigen,

(1) Die Stellung der Evangelien ...p. 65; (2) p. 76.

Das christliche Bekenntnis hat sich in der Geschichte der
Kirche als ein festes Fundament erwiesen, das die
Lebensanschauung der Christen bestimmt. In der
Theologie und in der Kirche selbst ist es
das verbindende Glied, das die Einheit
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bestimmt.

dass die zu formulierende Frage nach dem Wert des Topographischen und Chronologischen in den Evangelien im ganzen negativ zu beantworten ist. Der Reiz des Problems im ganzen aber liegt in der Literarkritik, die eine Klärung der Frage nach der Entstehung und der Eigentümlichkeit der Evangelien erhoffen lässt. Die älteste Jesusüberlieferung ist 'Perikopen'-Überlieferung, also Überlieferung einzelner Szenen und einzelner Aussprüche, die zum grössten Teil ohne fest chronologische und topographische Markierung innerhalb der Gemeinde überliefert worden sind, Vieles, was chronologisch und topographisch aussieht, ist nur der Rahmen, der zu den einzelnen Bildern hinzukam." (1)

Schmidt in Der Rahmen tries to clear up small details, particularly in the first three Gospels, showing that before the Synoptics were formed, there were traditional individual stories, grouped according to subject matter, with little chronology. The various stories were independent units in themselves, which were used for devotional purposes at the meetings of the early Christians; at each meeting, in the story itself, a complete teaching was given. The stories were made to live by giving names to persons, places, etc., - sometimes authentically given and sometimes quite fictitious.

Koehler briefly summarizes the method of Schmidt, when he says, "Er weist nach, dass die erzählten Stücke älter sind als ihre Verbindung, dass man also zwischen

(1) Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu, p.v.

... dass die im Formelbuch 1780 nach dem Typo-

graphischen und chronologischen in der Geschichte in

genau dieselbe zu - beantwortet ist. ... der Jahr 1780

... dass in Bezug auf die in der Geschichte, die eine

Erklärung der Frage nach der Entstehung und der Abnahme

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Einzelgeschichten und Verknüpfungen unterscheiden muss und dass die Einzelgeschichten Tradition, die Verknüpfungen Werk der Evangelisten sind. Die Einzelgeschichten erweisen sich so als "älter denn die Evangelien. Sie liegen den Evangelisten vor, liegen ihnen in fester Form vor, in welche sie nur gelegentlich und nur zu bestimmten Zwecken eingreifen." (1)

Throughout Schmidt is a strong propagandist for Formgeschichte.

(1) Das formgeschichtliche Problem des N.T., p. 23.

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CHAPTER TWO.

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE OF FORMGESCHICHTE WHICH HAS REFERENCE TO THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

CHAPTER TWO

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

OF COMMERCIAL BANKRUPTCY

IN THE UNITED STATES

It seems almost a logical sequence that someone should, after the many small contributions of oral traditionalists to the problem of Formgeschichte in the Synoptic Gospels, attack the problem more rigorously. Dr. Karl L. Schmidt had presented the overture in Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu in 1919. Almost simultaneously Bultmann, Dibelius, Bertram, and Albertz brought forth their works dealing directly with the problem of Formgeschichte.

Consequently, it is proper, after a review of oral tradition in the Synoptic Gospels ending with a view of Schmidt's position, that a review of the literature of the leading exponents of Formgeschichte should be given. The viewpoints of these scholars will be reviewed in the following order: Rudolf Bultmann, Martin Dibelius, Martin Albertz, and Georg Bertram.

Rudolf Bultmann.

In his view of the Synoptic Problem, Rudolf Bultmann realizes that Matthew and Luke did use some other sources, most of which can be traced to Mark and the Logia. Both Mark and the Logia were, however, subjected to editorial redaction. Matthew and Luke probably possessed these two sources in different recensions; the form of Mark used by them was earlier than the one we possess; Urmarkus was like our Mark except for minor changes.

He also mentions two questions which arise relative to the

Synoptic Problem: (1) Which is the older, Logia or Mark?

(2) Did Mark have written or oral sources? In addition to these two outstanding questions Bultmann further asks if the traditional bits are all equally original, or is there a later and an earlier tradition, and have these traditions been preserved intact or altered? He asserts that Formgeschichte furnishes means to answer such questions.

"Formgeschichte starts from the observed fact that all literary presentations, particularly in primitive culture and in the ancient world, follow relatively fixed forms. (E.g., in oral tradition, written narratives, folk tales, proverbs.) ...The stylistic pattern which prevails in a particular kind of utterance, such as folktales or riddles; the laws conditioning the transmission of a literary fragment in either oral or written tradition," impress Bultmann. (1) He believes that "it must be shown how precisely the same laws observed elsewhere in popular literature governing transmission of tradition were also operative in the synoptic tradition." (2) The kernel and general structure persist as the incidentals change in the mouth-to-mouth transmission.

Bultmann seems to feel an uncertainty in regard to some of the words of Jesus, whether they actually go back to Jesus Himself, or whether oral tradition improvised or invented them. "Freilich bleibt es in manchen einzelnen Fällen unsicher, was von der Gemeinde stammt, was von Jesus. Aber das wird man

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nicht bezweifeln können, dass die wichtigsten Worte, die den radikalen Gehorsam unter Gottes Willen fordern, auf Jesus zurückgehen." (1)

Two new characteristics are to be surveyed in present day Biblical research; one is the advent of questions which have a bearing on the history of religion, and the other is the new way of considering literature; namely, Formgeschichte. As one reads the works of Bultmann, one observes clearly that he employs Formgeschichte with vigor. He draws a distinction between the material of tradition and the redacted material. He says, "Man sieht dann mit voller Deutlichkeit, dass die ursprüngliche Tradition fast durchweg aus kleinen Einzelstücken (Worten oder kurzen Geschichten) bestand, und dass fast alle Ort- und Zeitangaben, die die einzelnen Stücke zu einem grösseren Zusammenhang fügen, Redaktionsarbeit der Evangelisten sind. Diese haben typische Übergangswendungen, sie verfügen sosusagen über ein ziemlich beschränktes Regie-Material, um den Hintergrund der einzelnen Szenen und den Rahmen des ganzen Lebens Jesu daraus zu bauen." (2)

Luke shows a greater cleverness of redaction than Matthew, although even the unskilled reader can observe how each has worked over the Markan material. In fact, the whole framework of the story of Jesus is recognized as redactional work, and the scenes are pictures colored by the evangelists. These pictures result from the fact that in primitive literature, both oral

(1) Jesus, p. 116;

(2) Die Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien, p. 12.

and written literature moved in somewhat rigid forms which had their own laws of style.

If one observes the Synoptic Gospels one will discover small pictures covering but a short space of time. No event stretches over more than two days; there are usually two people, and never more than three, who speak in these scenes. If groups or masses are together they are regarded as a unit. As the stories go from mouth to mouth changes naturally take place, so that small details of the same picture are differently portrayed in the three Gospels. The reality of many names mentioned is questioned.

Out of the traditional material certain distinct forms can be perceived. Bultmann analyzes the material into three main groups: (1) Miracles and Legends; (2) Apophthegmata; (3) The Words of Jesus.

Miracles. The miracle narratives are explained in three sections: First, there is a description, which pictures the situation; often the severity of the sickness is mentioned, (Mark 5.3-5).. Or, it tells the length of duration, (Mark 5.25 ff., 9.12, Luke 13.11).. In the second section there is a report of the miraculous healing, (Mark 7.33, 8.23). In some cases the healing takes place with the laying on of the hand and the speaking of a strange foreign word, as talitha cumi (Mark 5.41), and ephata (Mark 7.34). Finally, it is characteristic that no one dare see some particular miracle, as in Mark 7.33 and Mark 8.23. "Der ursprüngliche Sinn ist

and various other things which are not mentioned in the text.

It is also possible that the text is a translation of a foreign work, and that the author is not the original author. The text is written in a style which is characteristic of the 19th century, and it is possible that the author is a translator of a foreign work. The text is written in a style which is characteristic of the 19th century, and it is possible that the author is a translator of a foreign work.

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wohl der, dass das Wirken der Gottheit keine Zeugen haben darf, wie in der Geschichte von Lots Frau, (I Mos. 19.14-16)." (1)

In this last section there are often witnesses of the miracle who are astonished or who give way to applause; or the healed one himself gives testimony of the miracle by demonstration, (the lame man carries his bed, Mark 2.11 f.) , or by word, (Mark 5.43, 5.13).

Legends. In this group belong the Baptism story, the Temptations, the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Passion, the Resurrection, Peter's recognition of Jesus as the Messiah, and the stories of Luke and Matthew which precede the coming of John the Baptist. "Wie für die christliche Gemeinde die Taufe und das Abendmahl die höchsten kultischen Feiern sind, so erzählt sie, dass auch Jesus die Taufe erhalten habe und am letzten Lebensabend mit seinen Jüngern das Abendmahl gefeiert habe; so sieht sie ihre eigenen Feiern in der Geschichte ihres Herrn begründet. Damit ist nicht gesagt, dass Jesus nicht wirklich vom Täufer getauft worden sei und nicht wirklich mit den Seinen ein letztes feierliches Mahl gehalten habe." (2)

Apophthegmata. These correspond closely to Dibelius' Paradigmata; they serve as framework for important sayings. "Der Rahmen erzählt die Situation, in der das Wort gesprochen wurde, und seinen Anlass." (3) Usually the occasion is brought about by the question of a disciple or scribe, by an act of

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Jesus (as Sabbath healing), or by the attitude of a disciple (who eats without having washed his hands). There are also the disputes (Mark 2.12, 2.23-28, 3.1-6, 7.1-23, etc.); conversations with eager questioners (Mark 10.17-22, 12.28-34; Matthew 11.2-19; Luke 17.20,21); scenes of biographical characters (Mark 6.1-6, 10.13-16; Luke 9.57-62, 11.27,28). These serve as ideal scenes for Jesus' words.

In many questions which are asked of Jesus He responds with a question (Mark 2.19, 3.4, 3.24-26, 2.25 f., 11.30; Luke 13.15, 14.5; Matthew 17.25). This is a Jewish usage; thus the origin of these stories is on Jewish ground. Such expressions as "As He was asked by", "When He first saw how" (Luke 17.20,21 and 6.5), were probably formulated within Hellenistic Christianity. It is also quite probable that only the framework of Luke 17.20,21 is of later development and that the words of Jesus came from an old tradition. "Man muss nämlich zwischen solchen Apophthegmen unterscheiden, in denen der Rahmen und das Wort eng aufeinander bezogen sind, so dass dieses gar nicht ohne jenen erzählt werden konnte, (z.B., MARK 2.18,19; 3.1-5; LUK. 12.13,14), und zwischen anderen, in denen Rahmen und Wort nur lose miteinander verbunden sind." (1)

As one views such passages as Mark 2.18,19, 2.23-26, and 7.1-8 one wonders why so much is explained by the disciples instead of by Jesus, and why Jesus must defend the attitude of the disciples more than His own. Bultmann's answer is that

(1) Ibid., p. 22.

the sections have originated out of the community and are to be understood in their original setting. Many of the scenes, (e.g., the calling of the disciples, Mark 1.16-20) lack the motivation and psychological note to be truly historical, (Mark 3.31-35, 12.41-44; Luke 9.57-62, 10.38-42, 6.1-6).

Fascher classifies Bultmann's Apophthegmata as follows:

" (1) organisch-einheitlich und echt sind; (2) organisch-einheitlich, aber Gemeindebildung; (3) aus einem Logion geformt; (4) aus einem Kernstück herausgewachsen; (5) durch Anfügung von Sprüchen erweitert sind; (6) einen palästinensischen Kern in hellestinischem Gewande haben." (1)

Among the Streitgespräche and Schulgespräche Bultmann mentions twenty-four, among which are six unified compositions and eighteen secondary pictures. Among the latter "zehn entstammen Gemeinde-debatten (Mk.2.15-17, 18-22, 23-28, 3.22-30, 7.1-23, 9.38-40, 10.2-12, 35-45, 12.18-27; Matt.11.2-19); zwei sind Varianten (Lk.14.1-6, 13.10-17); eins ist Missionsbildung, (Lk.9.51-56); eins ist fertig mit einem Spruch verbunden, (Mk.11.20-25); eins ist aus einem Spruch gestaltet, (Lk.17.20 f.); eins ist am Anfang und Ende umgestaltet, (Mk. 11.27 ff.); eins ist schwer zu analysieren, (Lk.7.36-50)." (2)

The six which have unified composition are: Mark 3.1-6, 10.17-22, 12.13-17, 12.28-34; Luke 12.13,14, 13.1-5.

The Words of Jesus. These are classified into Logia (in its narrow sense), i.e., wisdom-sayings, prophetic and apocalyptic

Die formgeschichtliche Methode, (1) p. 94; (2) p. 94.

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sayings, words of the law, and rules of the community.

Wisdom Sayings. The first of these groups finds examples in the Old Testament in "The Sayings of Solomon" and in the apocryphal writing, "The Wisdom of Jesus Sirach". Specimens in the Gospels are: Matthew 12.34b, "Out of the fulness of the heart speaks the mouth"; Matthew 24.28, "Where the carcass is, there assemble the eagles"; Matthew 6.34b, "Sufficient unto each day is its own evil"; also in Luke 12.2,3 and Matthew 6.19-34 are similar examples found. Most of these have parallels in Jewish wisdom literature. Luke 12.16-20 resembles Jesus Sirach 11.18,19; Matthew 6.20-30 resembles the Sayings of Solomon 6.6-8 in form; Luke 14.7-11 resembles the Sayings of Solomon 25.6,7, etc..

Thus "man sieht aber ein, dass man auch mit der Möglichkeit rechnen muss, dass ihm die Gemeinde manches schöne Wort in den Mund gelegt hat, das vielmehr aus dem Schatz jüdischer Spruchweisheit stammt....Jedenfalls hat man für diese Weisheitsworte am wenigsten die Gewähr, dass es echte Jesusworte sind; sie sind auch für die geschichtliche Bedeutung Jesu am wenigsten charakteristisch." (1)

Prophetic and Apocalyptic Words. These words Jesus employs in His announcing of the breaking in of the Kingdom of God, especially regarding the call to repentance, salvation for the prepared, and travail for the unrepentant. To this group belong Luke 10.23 f., Matthew 11.5,6, Luke 7.22-23, 6.20.21, 12.8-9; words about the scribes in Matthew 23 and Luke 11; and the prophecy about the destroying of the temple in Mark 13.2.

(1) Die Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien, p. 29.

These words "sind offenbar nicht typische Produkte apokalyptischer Phantasie, sondern originale Worte einer prophetischen Persönlichkeit." (1) However, if the community has borrowed words from the prophets like these above, the eschatological tone is affected by Jesus. Also, later prophets spoke in the name of Jesus, - Revelation 3.20, "See, I stand before the door and knock; Revelation 16.15, "See, I come as a thief...."

Some of these words have been taken by the community out of Jewish tradition, and with certain changes employed as Jesus' words, (Mark 13.5, Luke 11.49-51, Luke 13.34,35).

Words about the Law. This group of words relates to purity (Mark 7.15), divorce (Mark 10.11,12), the antithesis in Matthew 5.21,22,27,28,33-37, words about almsgiving, praying, and fasting (Matthew 6.2-18). These words originated neither out of contemporary Judaism nor the community, but have their parallels in the prophets. "Selbst wenn manches dieser Worte aus der Gemeinde stammen sollte, so geht doch der Geist, der in ihnen lebendig ist, auf Jesu Wirken zurück." (2)

Rules for the discipline of the community and its mission are found in such places as Matthew 16.18,19, 18.15-22, 10.5-16; Mark 7.20-23; Luke 21.34-36. The prophecies regarding the suffering of Jesus find their origin in the community (Mark 8.31, 9.31, 10.33,34). The same is true in the words which speak of Jesus' coming as shown in Matthew 5.17, Mark 10.45.

According to Bultmann the uncertainty of the words mentioned

Die Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien, (1) p. 30;
(2) p. 31.

above need not lead to skepticism. The community which gives us many of the words is conscious that it owes its existence and spiritual power to Jesus.

Martin Dibelius.

The early Christian literature grew out of private inferior writings which were on the borderline of great pieces of literature, but almost all is non-literary or "small literature". The Synoptic Gospels belong to the "small literature", for they cannot be measured with standard literary works. However, as compared with other early Christian writings, the Synoptists show certain noticeable and distinguishable features. (1) The authors of the Synoptists are collectors and redactors rather than writers; of the three Luke shows the most literary style. (2) The material does not have its first form in the Gospels, as the Gospels are small units fastened together. Furthermore, they are joined together according to certain laws. "Wer die Entstehung literarischer Gattungen in einem Kreise unliterarischer Menschen verstehen will, wird ihres Lebens und - wenn es sich um religiöse Texte handelt - ihres Kultes Brauch zu untersuchen und zu fragen haben, ob er jene Formbildung - vielleicht dem Menschen unbewusst - bewirkt habe. Umgekehrt wird er, wenn ihm aus der Menge der Texte gewisse Gattungen deutlich werden, sie an jenen Untersuchungen messen und feststellen, ob sie Beziehungen zu bestimmten Lebens- und Kultus-verhältnissen verraten. Beides - jenes Untersuchung und diese Feststellung - ist unsere Aufgabe." (1)

(1) Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, p. 3.

Our Gospels originally are from unliterary men who had neither capacity nor desire to produce finished works; the importance of the Formgeschichte problem is seen as one bears this in mind and observes closely the Gospels' unliterary nature. When one considers the transmission of the Gospels, one cannot be satisfied merely with oral tradition. The process of fixation took place under certain controlled, immanent laws which existed in the community; furthermore, a motive lay behind the material that has come to the readers. There was early missionary preaching which spread the message which the disciples of Jesus had remembered. The content of this message was not the life of Jesus but the idea of salvation which appeared in Jesus Christ. This preaching took place on Gentile soil to the unconverted. There were three kinds of preaching to these people: (1) The Kerygma (the message of Jesus Christ); (2) Evidences of writing; (3) Admonitions to repentance as shown in the Book of Acts and Paul's Letters. References to these are found as follows: (1) Acts 2.22 ff., 3.13 ff., 10.37 ff., 13.23 ff., 5.30 ff.; (2) Acts 2.25 ff., 3.22 ff., 10.43a, 13.22 ff.; (3) Acts 2.38 ff., 3.17 ff., 10.42, 43b, 13.38 ff. .

Paul knew a formula in his preaching, as the following example shows:

"Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures;
He was buried;
He arose again the third day according to the scriptures;
He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve." (1)

Further Dibelius says, "Das durchgehendes Interesse für

(1) I Corinthians 15.3-5.

Our Gospel originally and from the beginning has been and

will be equally not desirous to produce finished work; the

importance of the Evangelical teacher is seen as one bears

this in mind and observes closely the Gospel's missionary

nature. When one considers the transmission of the Gospel, one

cannot be satisfied merely with oral tradition. The process

of fixation took place under certain conditions, inherent laws

which existed in the community; Furthermore, a motive lay

behind the activity that has come to the fore. There was

early missionary preaching which spread the message which the

disciples of Jesus had received. The content of this message

was not the life of Jesus but the idea of salvation which

appeared in Jesus Christ. This preaching took place on Jewish

soil in the unconverted. There were three kinds of preaching to

these people: (1) The kerygma (the message of Jesus Christ);

(2) Evidence of writings; (3) Additions to revelations as shown

in the Book of Acts and Paul's letters. References to these

are found as follows: (1) Acts 2:14, 3:12, 13:7, 17:17,

19:13, 20:7, 21:20, 22:3, 26:22, 28:23, 28:31.

(2) Acts 2:14, 13:7, 17:17, 19:13, 20:7, 21:20, 22:3,

26:22, 28:23, 28:31. (3) Acts 2:14, 13:7, 17:17, 19:13,

20:7, 21:20, 22:3, 26:22, 28:23, 28:31.

Paul knew a formula in his preaching, as the following

example shows:

"I have lived law-abiding according to our religion;

He was buried;

He arose again the third day according to the scriptures;

He has been of Gospel, then of the Spirit." (1)

Further evidence says, "The Evangelical teacher has

(1) Evangelical 15-16.

die Leidens- und Ostergeschichte in ihrem Zusammenhang, dagegen nur gelegentliche Hervorhebung der anderen Daten aus dem Leben Jesu." (1) Regarding the grounds which Dibelius has for these facts Fascher says, "Es gibt einen psychologischen: die Jünger stehen bei der Verkündigung unter dem tiefen Eindruck der Ostererlebnisse; sie sehen alles in neuem Lichte; einen daraus folgenden praktischen: die Verkündigung handelt von dem in Christus erschienenen Heil, dem ersten Akt der geglaubten und erhofften Weltvollendung; zu ihr werden die Jünger durch das in Gesagte gedrängt; einen literarischen: so verschieden die Evangelium untereinander sein mögen, sie berichten - mit Einschluss von Johannes! - die Leidengeschichte ziemlich übereinstimmend." (2)

Reports from the first of the eye-witnesses must have led to the developing of the explanation-type, called the Paradigma. Most of the material for this type comes from Mark, with several questionable passages in Luke and Matthew (e.g., Matthew 9.27 ff.). In Mark there are seven which are pure types:

The healing of the lame man	Mark 2.1 ff.
The question of fasting	" 2.18 ff.
The plucking of the ears of corn	" 2.23 ff.
The healing of the lame hand	" 3.1 ff.
The walking of Jesus on the sea	" 3.20 f., 31 ff.
The blessing of the children	" 10.13 ff.
The coin	" 12.13 ff.

(1) Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, p. 12;

(2) Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 54.

die Lektüre- und Gedächtnisübungen in ihren Zusammenhängen, angeordnet nach alphabetischer Reihenfolge der Vokale, haben sich als sehr wirksam erwiesen. (1) Hinsichtlich der Methode, welche Bibeltexte zum Lesen dieser Kinder eignet, ist eine eingehende Untersuchung erforderlich. Es ist zu erwarten, dass bei der Verbindung mit dem tieferen Eindruck der Lektüre, die Kinder in ihrem Lernen einen Gewinn erfahren. Folgende Ergebnisse der Versuchsreihe handeln von dem in der ersten Versuchsreihe, die ersten drei der Ergebnisse und der letzten Versuchsreihe; zu ihr werden die Kinder durch das in der ersten Versuchsreihe; einen Vergleich; so werden die Evangelien untereinander sein können, die berichten - als Einschluss von Johannes! - die Lektüre der Bibel. (2)

Report from the first of the experiments now have led to the developing of the experiment-type, called the Experiment. Most of the material for this type comes from Mark, with several questionable passages in Luke and Matthew (e.g., Matthew 2:27-28). In Mark there are seven which are pure types:

The healing of the lame man	Mark 2:27-28
The question of fasting	" 2:18-20
The plucking of the ears of corn	" 2:23-24
The healing of the lame boy	" 3:1-2
The raising of Jesus from the sea	" 2:20-21, 21-22
The blessing of the children	" 10:13-14
The coin	" 12:41-42

(1) Die Ergebnisse der Versuchsreihe, p. 12.
(2) Die formenrichtliche Methode, p. 26.

Other examples which are less pure are:

The healing in the synagogue	Mark 1.23-27
The calling of Levi	" 2.13-17
Working on the Sabbath	Luke 6.5
Jesus in His hometown	Mark 6.1-6
Healing dropsy on the Sabbath	Luke 14.1-6
The Kingdom	Mark 10.17-21
The Zebedean	" 10.35-45
The question of the Sadducees	" 12.18-27
The anointing	" 14.3-9

In considering the pure examples one finds that they existed formerly by themselves; in Mark they have a dependent conclusion and beginning; they were employed for an edifying purpose and show such a style. The stories are religiously clothed; one finds such expressions as, "He preached the word" (Mark 2.2), and "He blessed them" (Mark 10.16).

Dibelius draws a difference between a Paradigma and an explanation. In the latter the characters are little individualized. If one considers the lame man, Levi the tax-gatherer, the woman with the ointment, one merely finds how they came in touch with Jesus and how Jesus answered them. "Das Fehlen des Porträts ist ein auffallendes Merkmal der Paradigmen." (1) In the other type is "der Erzählung von berühmten 'frommen' Männern und Frauen und ihrer mehr oder minder 'frommen' Taten. Kurz gesagt: wir stehen vor Anfängen christlicher Legende." (2) As the legend is represented by individual persons the Paradigma is concerned

Other examples which are less rare are:

Mark 1:21-27	The healing in the synagogue
" 2:1-12	The calling of Levi
Luke 5:2	Healing on the Sabbath
Mark 5:1-13	Jesus in his hometown
John 4:46-54	Healing the boy on the Sabbath
Mark 10:17-22	The Rich Young Man
" 10:23-25	The Rich Man
" 12:13-17	The question of the Sabbath
" 14:1-9	The anointing

In considering the more examples one finds that they existed formerly by themselves; in Mark they have a dependent conclusion and beginning; they were assigned for an edifying purpose and show such a style. The stories are religiously clothed; one finds such expressions as, "He preached the word" (Mark 2:2), and "He blessed them" (Mark 10:10).

Biblical gives a difference between a Parable and an explanation. In the latter the characters are little individuals. If one considers the fact that, even the law-giver, the woman with the ointment, one may find that they came in touch with Jesus and the Jesus answered them. "Has he healed her for ever?" (1) in the other type is "for ever" von demselben "Gesund" bleibe und "Gesund" bleibe und nicht mehr oder nicht "Gesund" bleibe. (2) As the latter are taken from the Bible, the Parables are concerned

Die Parabeln des Evangeliums, (1) 1. Aufl. (2) 2. Aufl.

with an impersonal type, because in the latter the importance is placed on the content of the words rather than on the personality of the speaker. In the Paradigma practically nothing is found regarding the stories of the healings; usually a commanding word of Jesus is sufficient.

There are two kinds of conclusions in the Paradigma; one "immer zeigt es sich, dass der Spruch Jesu irgendwie allgemeine Bedeutung besitzt und als Regel für Glauben oder Leben der ganzen Geschichte eine unmittelbare Beziehung auf die Hörer verleiht." (1) Examples of this are numbers 2,3,4 of the pure Paradigmas. The other kind of Paradigma ends with a chorus which is astonished at the happening. "Never yet" seems to be the catchword of such conclusions, which one observes in sentences like, "Such have we never yet seen."

The Paradigmas' significance and historical value rest not on the trustworthiness of every word which they contain, but in their portrayal of Jesus. The tradition coming from Gentile mission preaching could not be absolutely wordproof, because Jesus' words were changed; but one does get the message of Jesus to save sinners rather than the righteous, which the mission preachers placed in the mouth of Jesus. "Der Erzähler - das ist aber der Prediger - hat dieses Middlestück geschaffen um des Gedankens willen, der ihm die Hauptsache war, dessen Bestätigung die Heilung darstellte." (2)

The choral conclusion "such we have never yet seen" sounds as if the story explained only the act of wonder and not the worth of the

with an important type, because in the latter the importance is placed on the content of the words rather than on the person of the speaker. In the first type practically nothing is found regarding the stories of the healings; usually a commanding word is used is sufficient.

There are two kinds of conclusions in the first type; one "immer zeigt es sich, dass der Spruch dass irgendwas allgemeines Bedeutung besitzt und als Regel für Glauben oder Leben der Glauben-Genossen eine unmittelbare Beziehung auf die Heilung verleiht." (1) Examples of this are numbers 2, 3, 4 of the pure first type. The other kind of first type ends with a phrase which is established as the happening. "Neyr yet" seems to be the catchword of such conclusions, which are observed in sentences like, "Such have we never yet seen."

The second type 'significance and historical value rest not on the person of the speaker but on the content of the words, but in their power of Jesus. The tradition coming from Jesus' mission preaching could not be absolutely worded, because Jesus' words were not yet; but one does get the message of Jesus to have others rather than the righteous, with the aim in preaching placed in the mouth of Jesus. "Der Bräutigam - das ist aber der Bräutigam - hat dieses Mitleid behalten und das Jesus will, der ihn die Heilung war, dessen Bedeutung die Heilung darstellt." (2)

The second conclusion "such we have never yet seen" sounds as if the story explained only the act of wonder and not the worth of the

wonder-doer. In the Paradigma the preacher both explains and hands down the tradition; "darum fehlt den Paradigmen die Objektivität des Protokolls und der Farbenreichtum der Novelle; daher eignet ihnen aber auch werbende und erbauende Kraft." (1)

Closely associated with the Paradigma is the Novel, a form which first found use with von Soden and Wendling. Novels are found in the Gospel of Mark as follows:

The seastorm	Mark 4.25-41
The demon and the swine	" 5.1-20
The daughter of Jairus and the flow of blood	" 5.21-43
The feeding of the 5000	" 6.35-44
The walking on the sea	" 6.45-52
The deaf and dumb man	" 7.32-37
The blind man of Bethsaida	" 8.22-26
The epileptic boy	" 9.14-29

In these stories one deals with individual narratives that stand out unconnected and alone; they are complete in themselves. In only one case (number 3) is there unity. In these novels it is important to notice that, although Jesus has warned those healed not to reveal the secret of their being healed, they disobey His command and carry the message to the world. In several novels paradigm conclusions are found; for instance, at the end the chorus, in the case of the healing of the deaf and dumb man, says, "Everything He has made right. He gives hearing to the deaf and speech to the dumb."

(1) Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, p. 36.

...-... In the ... the ... and

... the ...; ... the ...

... the ... and ...

... the ... and ...

... the ... in the ...

... the ... and ...

... the ... as follows:

1-1-30	"	The ...
2-1-30	"	The ...
3-1-30	"	The ...
4-1-30	"	The ...
5-1-30	"	The ...
6-1-30	"	The ...
7-1-30	"	The ...
8-1-30	"	The ...
9-1-30	"	The ...

In these ... the ...

... the ... and ...

In only one case (number 7) is there ...

... the ... and ...

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... the ... and ...

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... the ... and ...

... the ... and ...

the ...

Some of the characteristics of the novels which contrast them with the paradigm are: The novel has greater length and more description. The style of the novel is not of an instructive nature; on the other hand, one is impressed by its profane motive. The disciples show a 'worldly' attitude, as in the seastorm when they cry out, "Master, save us, we shall drown"; and in the feeding of the 5000, when they ask, "Shall we go and buy 200 pennyworth of bread and give them to eat".

There is occasionally an edifying motive in the words of Jesus which have universal significance. The novel regards Jesus as the wonder-doer and the miracle is given first place, but not as occasional and remote as in the paradigm. The conclusions have no necessarily educational significance as in the paradigm. Some of them show this: "And commanded that something should be given her to eat" (Jairus story); "they that did eat of the loaves were about 5000 men" (feeding of the 5000). After His walking on the sea they ask, "Who is this, that wind and sea obey Him?" "Man sieht, es ist die Person des Thaumaturgen, die das Interesse fesselt." (1) "Die Topik der literarischen Wundererzählung, die wir in den Paradigmen zumeist vermissten, erscheint in den Novellen mit einer gewissen Regelmässigkeit." (2)

It is interesting to notice the peculiarities employed in the novel. Miracle-doing formulas in strange tongues are employed, as talitha cumi and ephata, which were used to strengthen the belief in the performances of miracles. Certain gestures are used, as the

It is interesting to notice the parallelism between the two
novels. Missions-Station is written in German, and the other in
English, which were used to strengthen the belief
in the performance of miracles. Certain features are noted in the

novel, Evangelium, (1) p. 44; (2) p. 45.

novel, Evangelium, (1) p. 44; (2) p. 45.

novel, Evangelium, (1) p. 44; (2) p. 45.

novel, Evangelium, (1) p. 44; (2) p. 45.

novel, Evangelium, (1) p. 44; (2) p. 45.

laying of hands on the blind; the touching of the deaf man's ear, accompanied by a look toward heaven; the use of spittle in healing the blind man. "Das wesentlichste Geheimnis bleibt ja unenthüllt, die Heilkraft Jesu." (1)

The judgment about the historical worth of a novel depends on one's answer regarding the manner in which the novels originated. "Man konnte, ^{die} in der Predigt überlieferten Paradigmen erweitern durch das, was man noch wusste oder in Erfahrung bringen konnte, durch ausführliche Schilderung von Personen und Vorgängen, durch mancherlei sonst, was man erschloss oder hinzudichtete. Man konnte sie aber auch verändern und variieren durch unbewusste Entlehnung aus anderen nichtchristlichen Geschichten, aus alttestamentlichen Erzählungen, griechischen Novellen, Mythen, Märchen; so wurde das Bild Jesu immer mehr mit den typischen Zügen des Wundertäters ausgeschmückt. Man konnte endlich - und das war ein dritter Weg - ganze fremde Geschichten oder wenigstens Stoffe entlehnen und auf Jesus übertragen." (2) Many of the novels did not originate on Christian ground.

The paradigm and novel were handed down as individual stories. In the passion story one finds several events placed together; if the memory of the eye-witnesses failed here the Old Testament undoubtedly was resorted to in order to supplement. Whoever desired to exhibit such a series collected the stories and placed them together. The author of Mark was the

Ibid., (1) p. 48; (2) p. 54.

first to accomplish this; he joined together the acts of Jesus, the paradigms, the novels, and the sayings of Jesus. However, these collections (such as Mark 1.32-34, 3.10-12, 6.54-56) lack the clearness which the paradigms and novels contain. Other passages in the Passion Story (Mark 8.31 f., 9.30-32, 10.32-34) reveal that the evangelist assembled them. In Mark 4.10-25 Mark has created the whole sea situation in order to imbed the tradition and to set forth the explanation. Mark 8.14-21 shows the same feature.

The paradigms showed the words of Jesus that had universal significance. But there were also words of Jesus in which Mark had no interest, contained in another source, Q. "Wir erkennen deutlich das Bestreben der Gemeinden, Worte Jesu in der Weise von Q zu sammeln, wir wissen aber nicht ob das Ergebnis dieser Bemühungen ein oder mehrere Bücher, und ob es überhaupt Bücher waren." (1)

In the sections in which Mark gives the sayings and speeches of Jesus one finds Mark 4.1 ff. concerning miracles as especially characteristic; Mark has added the description of the situation and has made the significance more impressive. "Markus verwertet also offenbar eine Überlieferung, die Worte Jesu ohne rahmende Erzählung enthält." (2)

After Mark 12.38 in which Jesus and His opponents dispute, two short speeches are added against the scribes preceded by, "and He said in His teaching." In Mark 9.49,50 there is another example of Mark's attempt to show quotations out of an early

Ibid., (1) p. 67; (2) p.68.

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tradition. Mark 12.1 is introduced with, "He began to speak in parables". "Offenbar untersteht die Überlieferung der Jesu - Worte einem anderen Gesetz als dem, das die Sammlung des Markus - Stoffes regierte. Jenem Gesetz müssen wir nachspüren, wenn wir wissen wollen, warum Markus die Worte Jesu grösstenteils nicht aufgenommen hat." (1) The words of Jesus must have been handed down under other conditions like His acts. The problem points to the early Christian paranese.

Paul closes his letters frequently with a part of a paranese; for example, Romans 12.13, Galatians 5.13 ff., Colossians 3.4, I Thessalonians 4.1 ff., 5.1 ff. . These are loosely connected admonitions which differ greatly from Paul's usual style and have a general connotation, not theological in style and form. The paranese were used on account of tradition. The Epistle of James and I Peter show the same use of them also. They existed as collections of the words and wisdom of Jesus which were used by the missionaries (I Corinthians 7.10, 9.14; Romans 12.14; James 5.12). In Q also there is a similar collection. Sayings of Jesus were collected as early as Paul's time for the purpose of the paranese. In Q "diese Texte zeigen deutlich, dass die Sammlung den Zweck hatte, Anweisung und Belehrung aus Jesu Mund der Gemeinde zu übermitteln." (2)

The Q material, in most cases, was unframed. The story of the message of the Baptist to Jesus (Matthew 11.2; Luke 7.18) is nothing more than an introduction to a collection of sayings of Jesus

Ibid., (1) p. 69; (2) p. 74.

about the Baptist. Other examples of the paranese are in Matthew 11.25-30, 23.34-39. They are either from Jesus or they are "the wisdom of God" placed in Jesus' mouth. All these sayings were collected originally for parenetic ends in order to give the community advice, solution, and command by means of the Master's words.

Mark offers in the paranese, not the Christian preaching itself, but material for its support. "Zum Teil sind diese Texte für die Zwecke der Predigt selbst geformt wie die Paradigmen, zum Teil sind sie wie die Novellen anderer Herkunft, sind aber, wie gerade die Verwendung bei Markus zeigt, also Belege der christlichen Lehre, als Zeugnisse von Epiphanien Jesu, benutzt worden...die Worte Jesu^{dagegen}, die gesammelt wurden, um werdenden und gewordenen Christen Anweisung für ihr Leben zu geben, bilden einen Teil der christlichen Paränese, also der Lehre selbst." (1) Mark has developed his book, however, beyond that of a mere collection of material; it contains the message of Christ and not merely proofs for this message. Luke is conscious of the historic character of his book; he gives the purpose of his book in the prologue. Matthew, however, adds the traditional speeches in which he exhibits the words of Jesus collected according to certain themes.

The myth plays an important role in Formgeschichte. The story of Jesus is not of a mythical origin because the oldest evidence of the form-process, the paradigm, explains nothing about a mythical hero. Paul's letters, however, impress us that

(1) Ibid., p. 79.

there was a myth-Christ which explained the story of the Son of God who gave up worldly habitation in obedience to God, was crucified, and was resurrected; the world is indebted to Him for this; He will come to be victorious over His enemies and to be Master of His Kingdom.

Distinct mythical scenes are those containing the Baptismal Wonder in which the heavens open and the Spirit appears as a dove, the Transfiguration, and the end of Jesus' earthly life. (The Empty Grave Story and the Resurrection, being reported by Peter, are not myths.)

"Das Markus-Evangelium ist seinem letzten Gepräge nach gewiss ein mythisches Buch...die in dem Evangelium gesammelte Tradition ist nur zum kleinsten Teil, in den Epiphanie-Geschichten und in einigen Novellen, mythischen Charakters; in der Mehrzahl ihrer Stücke erscheint Jesus nicht als mythische Person." (1)

In such a section as Matthew 11.25-30 one sees not the real teacher Jesus, "sondern diese Verbindung von Selbstempfehlung und Predigtaufruf ist das typische Kennzeichen des göttlichen oder halbgöttlichen Offenbarungsträgers in der hellenistischen Frömmigkeit, also einer mythischen Person." (2)

Martin Albertz.

In the introductory remarks of his Die synoptischen Streitgespräche Albertz sounds his keynote, "Vor allem ist

Ibid., (1) p. 88; (2) p. 90.

There was a light-hearted which explained the body of the
and who gave up waiting patiently in obedience to God, the
circled, and was rewarded; the world is indeed his
for this; he will come to be victorious over his enemies and
be master of his kingdom.

That is not mystical science and those concerning the legend
tender in which the heavens open and the Spirit speaks as a
love, the Transfiguration, and the end of Jesus' earthly life.
(The empty grave story and the Resurrection, being reported in
fact, are not myths.)

"The Markan-Evangelium ist ein von Jesus selbst
gefasst und geschriebenes Buch... das in der Evangelien-
literatur ist nur zum kleinsten Teil, in der Epiphania-
schreiben und in einigen Novellen, apokalyptischen Schriften; in
den Schriften dieser Bücher erscheint Jesus nicht als apokalyptischer
Person." (1)

In such a section as Matthew 11:25-30 and such as the
former Jesus, "schon in diese Verbindung von Selbstpreisung
hineingeworfen ist das typische Kennzeichen des göttlichen
heiligt, einen Offenbarungswort in der apokalyptischen
Prophetie, also einer apokalyptischen Person." (2)

Wiederholte

In the introductory remarks of his Die apokalyptische
Christenheit Albert says the words, "Vor allem ist

Jesus selbst ganz unliterarisch. Eine 'literaturgeschichtliche' Untersuchung an seinen gesprochenen Worten vorzunehmen, ist eine irreführende Redeweise. Wir vermeiden daher diesen Sprachgebrauch und sprechen von einer 'formengeschichtlichen' Untersuchung." (1)

The first speeches were those between Jesus and His disciples; these speeches were transmitted from mouth to mouth; finally these were collected. Hence we have the process of Formgeschichte. Albertz does not attempt to discuss the whole sphere of Formgeschichte in the Gospels, but limits himself to the disputes that appear there. His work falls into two main divisions; namely, (1) the examination and the analysis of the material; and (2) the results in which he deals with the development of the disputes from their original presentation to the stage where they have a crude literary state. In this latter division he also compares the disputes with other forms of Gospel tradition and relates them to Jewish and Israelitish tradition.

Albertz analyzes the disputes into those which he calls versucherische and nichtversucherische. In the first group there are thirteen:

(1) The Collection of the Galilean Disputes of Jesus.

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| Mark 2.1-12 | The healing of the paralytic. |
| Mark 2.3-17 | The guest of the tax-gatherer. |
| Mark 2.18-22 | The question of fasting. |
| Mark 2.23-27 | The plucking of the ears of corn. |
| Mark 3.1-6 | The healing on the Sabbath. |

Albertz asserts that the five discourses contained in Mark

(1) Die synoptischen Streitgespräche, p. 1.

(1) The experimental investigation

Alberta suggests that the five elements could not be

Mark 2.1-2 The healing on the Sabbath.

Mark 2.13-14 The plotting of the Jews to kill him.

Mark 2.15-16 The question of fasting.

Mark 2.17-18 The guest of the tax-collector.

Mark 2.19-20 The fasting of the Pharisees.

(2) The collection of the Talmudic material

Alberta

Investigation of the Talmudic material

Alberta suggests that the five elements could not be

used to test the Talmudic material.

The Talmudic material is not used to test the

five elements. It is only used to show the

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2.1-3.6 do not proceed from Mark himself. Fascher summarizes Albertz's position here as follows: "(1) Der Hinweis auf die Passion ist für den Markus-Plan zu früh (Lc.6.11 schwächt ihn deshalb stark ab); denn erst 8.31 weiht Jesus die Seinen in sein Schicksal ein. (2) Das baldige Nachbringen eines einzelnen Gesprächs (3.22-30) wäre auffällig, wenn Markus die Zusammenstellung vorgenommen hätte. Die Höhe der Konfliktslage in 3.6 wird dadurch wieder abgeschwächt. (3) Die Sammlung gebraucht den Ausdruck 'Menschensohn' im Sinne von Mensch, den Markus erst von den Leidensweisagungen an in einem eschatologischen Sinne - auf den Messias bezogen - anwendet." (1)

(2) The Collection of the Jerusalem Disputes of Jesus.

Mark 11.15-17 (Parallels)

Mark 11.27-33 (Parallels)

Mark 12.13-40 (Parallels)

These passages are concerned with the conversations of Jesus within the Temple. "Die Gespräche, gewiss zunächst einzeln erzählt, durch kunstvolle Führung und Aktualität der Fragen vor Veränderungen geschützt, stehen einander zeitlich, lokal und gedanklich nahe und wurden früh durch den Sammler zu einer Einheit verbunden. Nennenswerte Zusätze sind nicht erfolgt, waren auch nicht nötig, da das dritte bis fünfte Gespräch bereits grundsätzliche Bescheide liefern, das erste keinen Zusatz gestattet und das Gelegenheitswort des zweiten von Anbeginn als Maxime angesehen worden ist. Jesus, der Herr im Tempel - so hat ihn der Sammler geschaut -, ein Lehrer, der alle Lehrer abtut, in Gottes Auftrag sein Gesetz verkündet und sein

(1) Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 147.

...to be processed in the following manner: ...
...the following: (1) The following ...
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...the following: (16) The following ...
...the following: (17) The following ...
...the following: (18) The following ...
...the following: (19) The following ...
...the following: (20) The following ...

Gericht an den falschen Führern vollzieht, selber dereinst der Erste im Himmelreich." (1)

(3) The Disputes of Jesus about the Obligation to the Rabbinical Tradition.

Mark 7.1-23 (Matthew 15.1-20).

Albertz says in reference to these disputes, "Die Debatte über Rein und Unrein hat in der aussersynoptischen Überlieferung noch einen doppelten Widerhall. Die Tradition von Aboda Sara 16b, 17a; Tosephta Chullin 2, 24; Qohelet rabba zu 1,8 hält die streng jüdische Linie inne, indem sie Jesus in einem Herrenwort als Überrabbiner erscheinen lässt, und zeigt ein völliges Abirren in jüdische Kasuistik bei den Judenchristen; das Evangelienfragment Oxy V (1907) Nr. 840, das ein Streitgespräch Jesu im Tempel mit Haupt- und Zwischengespräch und besonderem Anlass bringt, zeigt zwar formell Verwandtschaft mit der echten Überlieferung, läuft aber inhaltlich auf die Überbietung der alten kultischen Reinheit durch die neue kultische Reinheit (die Taufe als Wasser des ewigen Lebens) hinaus. Beide beweisen, dass die Streitfrage der kultischen Reinheit weiter lebendig ist und zur Produktion von Herrenworten und Streitgesprächen geführt hat." (2)

(4) The Dispute of Jesus regarding Divorce.

Mark 10.2-12.

"Die beiden Katechismen über Rein und Unrein und über die Ehe besprechen Fragen, die dem vom hellenistischen Mysterien-

kult herkommenden Christen viel wichtiger sein mussten als die jüdischen Fragen vom Ährenraufen am Sabbat oder vom Davidssohn, die Lk getreulich überliefert. Es ist daher anzunehmen, dass sie in dem Lk vorliegenden Mk noch nicht vorhanden waren." (1)

(5) The Threefold Dispute of Satan with Jesus about the Question of the Son of Man.

Matthew 4.1-11 (Luke 4.1-13)

In the temptations of Jesus, one may find parallels from Buddhism. "Ein ganzes Bündel von Versuchungsgeschichten stellen die Māralegenden des Mārasamyutta und Bhikkunisamyutta dar.....Die Versuchungsgeschichte der Nidānakathā trifft mit der biblischen nur in dem bei einem frommen, von einem fremdgläubigen Weltherrscher regierten Volke natürlichen Glauben zusammen, dass der Teufel die Weltherrschaft anbietet, die der Erlöser ablehnt....Die Versuchungsgeschichte des Padhānasutta und Lalitavistara 18, in der der Götterkampf zur Veranschaulichung des geistigen Ringens benutzt wird, nimmt zwar den Anlass beim Hunger des Buddha, doch ist der Hunger bei Buddha ein techinsches Fasten...Für den Buddha ist die Versuchung der sofortige Eingang in das Nirwāna, für Jesus eine weltweite Wirksamkeit. Dabei schildert die buddhistische Legende im voraus peinlich genau die ganze Tätigkeit des Buddha, in der biblischen Erzählung dagegen ringt Jesus noch um die Art seiner künftigen Wirksamkeit." (2)

The artist who has given us the Temptation Story was

conscious of the question which existed between Jews and Jewish-Christians regarding the Son of God.

In the Galilean disputes it is interesting to note the attitude of the opponents of Jesus. In Mark 2.6 they say nothing, but merely think; Mark 2.16 shows them turning themselves indirectly to Jesus with a question; in Mark 2.18 Jesus is asked directly and poignantly demanding an explanation of the striking attitude of the disciples; Mark 2.23 shows the origin and source of the blame and complaint.

Albertz believes that these Galilean disputes went through the following stages of growth: At first there were the individual stories; then there was the collection of these stories, with the addition of Mark 3.6. The collection was widened by the addition of Mark 2.13, 2.17b, 2.19b and 20, 2.21 f., and 2.27 f.. Next, Mark 2.1 and 2.13 were inserted; lastly, there was a transforming of the natural order into an order similar to that in Luke.

It is also interesting to notice the type of material which the disputes in the temple contain. First, there is the introduction; then the driving out of the mob from the temple (Mark 11.15-17); the question of full authority (Mark 11.27-33); the dispute regarding the things of Caesar (Mark 12.13-17); the question about the Sadducees (Mark 12.18-27); the highest command (Mark 12-28-34); the discourses regarding the Son of David. The conclusion, in the form of a warning by the Pharisees, may have been added by Mark.

The nichtversucherische disputes are four in number:

(1) The Action of Jesus against the Accusation concerning the Demon-origin of His State of Holiness.

Mark 3.22-30.

In regard to this Albertz concludes, "Das Gespräch unterscheidet sich von den bisherigen Streitgesprächen in folgendem: 1. die versucherische Absicht fehlt, aber nicht die Gehässigkeit; 2. es fehlt die formelle Fragestellung; 3. der Ausgangspunkt ist ein Wort, das nicht für Jesu Ohr bestimmt ist. Dennoch liegt ein Streitgespräch vor mit einer Streitfrage und einer Lösung durch Jesus, die die Gegner nicht angenommen haben. Formell liegt ein Rechtsstreit vor in einfachster Form: Anklage und Verteidigung. Vergleicht man die oft kunstvollen Formen des Rechtsstreits bei den Propheten Israels, so ermisst man, wie wenig hier Spuren juristischer Distinktionen vorhanden sind." (1)

(2) The Messianic Claim to the Attestation of Miracles.

Mark 8.11-13 (Parallels).

This discourse has a versucherische purpose, although Jesus asks no question and causes no conflict. The question is actually about the second discourse with Satan, and the conversation leads to an unreconcilable opposition of the partner.

(3) The Discourse of Jesus concerning the Conditions of Bliss.

Mark 10.17-27 (Parallels).

Ibid., (1) p. 50.

(4) The Discourse of Jesus with the Disciples Whom John the Baptist Sent to Him.

Matthew 11.2-6 (Luke 7.18-23).

"Das Streitgespräch mit Johannes ist bei Q mit anderen Johannesüberlieferungen verbunden und dient mit ihnen der apologetischpolemischen Auseinandersetzung der christlichen Kirche mit den Johanneskreisen." (1)

In the second section of Die synoptischen Streitgespräche Albertz deals with the results (Ergebnisse). Here he discusses the origin, explanation, designation, and collecting of the material. The disputes have a Palestinian origin, since they are typically Jewish and do not have a Hellenistic spirit. The questions about the fulfilling of the law and the apocalyptic hope are Jewish. In the discourse we have Jesus' battle with contemporaries, but not a separation of Jesus' community from its opponents. The dispute is not a literary product; it is Jesus' means of explaining to His opponents.

The explainer in each case is silent about his own self; we do not know when or where the conversation took place; we know little or nothing about the listeners. There is simply in the explanation the "Spieler" and the "Gegenspieler", the latter being sometimes a collected group instead of an individual. Also, Jesus and His disciples are oftentimes seen together as one when Jesus answers questions for them.

The purpose of the explanation is to place the words of Jesus before the community as obligatory law. The opponents of Jesus are handled as types rather than as individual persons;

(1) Ibid; p. 56.

as the disputes continued between these types and disciples after Jesus' death, Jesus' words were referred to as the new "law", as "apologetische Aushilfen", which held converts to the Christian belief; Jesus is looked upon as the teacher. "Will man sich ein anschauliches Bild der 'Lehrer' des Urchristentums machen, so vergesse man diese Erzähler nicht, die es verstanden, in den Versammlungen den beginnenden apologetischen Interessen der Gemeindeglieder durch Darbietung der einschlägigen Herrenworte zu dienen." (1)

The recording and collecting of the materials which compose our Gospels was necessitated as the Christian community grew in size; oral tradition would suffice no longer. This writing down and collecting of material was first in the Aramaic. "Doch ist gewiss schon in der Urgemeinde zu Jerusalem für die Hellenisten die griechische Weltsprache mit eingetreten. Bei der Dobblessprachigkeit vieler Gemeindeglieder ist der Überhang von einer Sprache zur anderen ohne Schwierigkeit vor sich gegangen." (2)

The last third of Albertz's discussion in Die synoptischen Streitgespräche has a double purpose: (1) It makes a comparison of the disputes with the other forms of expression in the Synoptic Gospels; (2) it compares the Gospel disputes with those of the Israelitisch-Judaistic development. Concerning the comparison of the disputes in relation to the Gospels as a whole Albertz concludes: (1) The Gospel discourses and the disputes have their concentration on Jesus; (2) in both the discourses and disputes two parties (which are to be regarded either individually or

collectively) are most common; (3) the simplest form of conversation is that of questions and answers; (4) throughout dates and localities are not exactly recorded chronologically.

On the other hand, there are some differences between the disputes and discourses: (1) In the disputes the emphasis is on the disputes as such. "Damit unterscheidet sich das Streitgespräch von den vielen Gesprächen des Evangelium, die die Erzählungen entweder einleiten oder begleiten oder abschliessen, die also nur die Taterzählung bereichern und verdeutlichen." (1)

(2) The disputes throw out a question for discussion. "Freilich werden auch bei anderen Gesprächen oft Fragen gestellt und beantwortet, aber bei diesen bieten sie nur Gelegenheit zu einer lediglich sachlichen Belehrung über den Sinn eines Gleichnisses oder der Parabeln überhaupt, über die apokalyptische Frage nach der Wiederkunft des Elia, über den Umfang der Vergebung, über die Bedeutung der vom Evangelium erzählten Tatsachen, wie der Taufe Jesu durch Johannes, der Dämonenaustreibungen durch die Jünger oder der Zahlung der Tempelsteuer, oder auch zur Zurückweisung falscher Ansprüche im Jüngerkreise oder bei Martha." (2) (3) The disputes describe the battle of Jesus with His earthly opponents; (4) apologetic and polemic groups have retained the interests of the disputes.

Q offers only one important discourse in the disputes; namely, Matthew 8.5--10 (Luke 7.1-9) in the conversation of Jesus with the Centurion of Capernaum. Two less important ones are found in Matthew 8.19-22, where the professed disciples are tested, and Luke 9.61 f., where there is a discourse on

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discipleship.

Mark gives five conversations with the disciples which are not disputes:

Mark 8.27-33 (Parallels)

" 9.33-37 "

" 10.35-45 "

" 14.18-21 "

" 14.26-31 "

In Matthew the discourse about the temple tax (Matthew 17. 24-27) stands alone. In Luke the disciples' discourses are more frequent; there are also conversations of Jesus with the people who are not among the Twelve (Luke 2.48f., 19.1-9, 7. 36-50, 23.39-43, etc.)

In the comparison of the Israelitisch-Judaistic writings with those of the New Testament concerning the disputes, the following results are reached by Albertz: (1) They agree in means of expression, but differ in type. Religious disputation is not familiar (see Genesis 32.23 f., Exodus 7.8,9, I Kings 18 for comparison). (2) The great prophets employ the Das Wort as the most important means of influence; Jeremiah has a dispute with God (Jeremiah 12.1-6); there is threatening of punishment (Amos 8.4-8); Isaiah 1.1 and 3.13-15 exhibit disputes regarding God's judgment. (3) A literary form is found in these disputes; there are conversations between God and man (Genesis 18.22-33); between God and Satan (Job 1); between men (Job 3.31); and there are monologues. Most of these discourses are concerned with the sorrows and sufferings of men.

These five categories are not disjoint

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In addition the discussion about the people and their 17
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Georg Bertram.

Bertram emphasizes the fact that one must sharply distinguish between the missionary preaching and the later preaching within the community concerning the crucified Christ, which the story of Jesus and the Christ-myth lace with one another. As the so-called "Paranese" exercised a strong influence on the construction of the Synoptic tradition, so is the Passion Story essentially to be considered as a development of the crucified Saviour. "Damit ist der entscheidende Gesichtspunkt für unsere Betrachtung der Leidensgeschichte gewonnen, der kultische. Vom Kult der Urgemeinde her haben wir die Passionsberichte unserer Evangelien zu verstehen. Es ist gewiss schon lange erkannt worden, dass wir, wie in den Evangelien überhaupt, so auch in der Leidenserzählung nicht schlechthinnige Geschichte vor uns haben, dass vielmehr, was wirklich geschehen ist, von einem Rankenwerk legendarischer und sagenhafter Züge umwoben ist, die, wenn sie entfernt würden, nur einen fruchteleeren Ulmenstamm historischer Tatsachen übrig lassen würden." (1)

The differences in the Gospels indicate legendary reports. The reports grew through additions and combinations, which always brought in new features.

Doctrinal views are turned into life; the community theology is turned into the community cult; and the old question of "How did the Christology of the early community originate?" becomes "How did Jesus of Nazareth become the cult-hero of Christianity?"

(1) Bertram, Die Leidensgeschichte Jesu, p. 2.

Bertram's method of procedure presupposes the priority of the cult motive; he examines the material from a literary-critical viewpoint in order to find its relation to the early community.

The outline of the material which he examines is as follows:

I. The Events which Preceded the Passion. Mark 14.1-42 (Parallels).

A. The Complications. Mark 14.1-11

1. The Plot. 1,2.

For Matthew the festival is simply the Passover. The reflection upon the Cross is so important for Matthew that he creates a small scene for it in which Jesus concludes His effect with a short, clear prophecy of suffering; only the determined time is new for the disciples. The scene serves as an introduction and preparation for that which follows.

In this section one sees "ein kultisches Bedürfnis befriedigt; es ist die christusgläubige Gemeinde, die die von Mt. zum Ausdruck gebrachte Anschauung ausgebildet hat, sie macht damit keine historische Aussage, sondern sie gibt durch die Geschichte, die sie erzählt, ein Zeugnis ihres eigenen Glaubens." (1)

2. The Anointing in Bethany. Mark 14.3-9

This passage was developed within the cult of the community, influenced by the tradition concerning Jesus. It shows "den Charakter einer Kulterzahlung." (2) It is to be understood that "die christliche Gemeinde feiert in dieser Unbekannten die erste, die einen Jesuskult geübt hat." (2) The early Christian cult meal served the purpose of an act of love. However, "ob Einbalsamierung oder Totenopfer, das eine ist jedenfalls sicher, dass in christlichen Kreisen an einen Totenkult im Zusammenhang mit dieser Geschichte

nicht gedacht werden konnte." (1)

The anointing story is under the influence of the cult affected by the passion of the Saviour, and has now received a place in the story of the suffering. The cult-explanation has become cult-legend, which is to be understood as holy history.

3. The Betrayal of Judas. Mark 14.10,11.

The idea of the thirty pieces of silver is an Old Testament requisite (Zachariah 11.12, Ezekiel 21.32). In this, however, the purely historical interest is missing, and everything which tradition gives us is construed in relation to the necessity of the cult. "So erhalten auch kurze, rein pragmatische Notizen eigene Bedeutung, indem sie manchmal nur in Andeutungen, manchmal selbständigeren kleinen Szenen die kultische Auffassung der christlichen Gemeinde von der heiligen Geschichte weiderspiegeln und so selbst zur Kulterzählung werden." (2)

B. The Last Meal and the Departing Speech of Jesus. Mark 14.12-31.

1. Preparation for the Passover Meal. Mark 14.12-16.

Here are found (as 13.33) originally eschatological terms used in a Messianic manner. Jesus, as the Lord of the future Messianic Kingdom which is to come in the Endzeit, can speak about His time. There is, however, a presentation here which does not belong to the original setting "weil sie dem Gastgeber eine absolute Wertung der Person Jesu zumutet, wie sie erst die Kultgemeinde haben kann." (3)

"Die Deutung der Mk-Lc-Formulierung als ---gelungeners--- Versuch, den Verrat des Judas bei oder gar schon von dem heiligen Mahl zu hindern, "uberhaupt die Jünger bis zum letzten Augenblick in Unkenntnis des von Jesus beabsichtigten Ortes für das Paschamahl

zu halten, ist zwar schon in der alten Kirche bekannt gewesen, aber doch aus historischen, psychologischen und literarkritischen Gründen abzulehnen." (1) Such a type of explanation was originally valuable for adding color to the scene of the last meal.

2. The Last Meal. Mark 14.22-25.

Here the features are meager which point to the sorrow and the exaltation of the Lord; the narrow connection of Jesus with the cult of His people is noticeable. It was a tradition of an antique character which considered the last meal of Jesus as a Passover meal. Tradition which speaks of a last Passover meal of Jesus apart from the last Supper adds weight to such Passover reports.

"Mit dem kultischen Abendmahlsbericht in keinem Zusammenhang stehen bei Mk. und Mt. auch die Schlussverse 25 bzw. 29. Danach kennt auch die Mark-Matthäus-Überlieferung den alten Paschabericht, betrachtet ihn aber offenbar als Dublette zue kultischen Abendmahlsüberlieferung und lässt ihn zugunsten der letzteren fort." (2)

The whole tradition seems to assume that the Last Supper was only a longer meal. It afterward had its effect in the community when the Lord's Supper was a part of the early Christian common meal.

"Jedenfalls ist der eigentliche Abendmahlsbericht in all den Formen, in denen er uns überliefert ist, aus dem Kultus übernommen." (3)

A further question of interest is that of the origin of the cup in the Last Supper. It was a common custom at the Jewish Passover for all to drink out of the same cup after the meal. Naturally, such a custom would be employed by Jesus. The idea of

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the blood had its analogy in the Jewish view since Deutero-Isaiah. The whole tradition of the Last Supper is chronologically unproductive because it is determined by the cult. We receive only the tradition as a whole, knowing neither the date nor the day of the Last Supper.

3. The Designation of the Betrayer. Mark 14.17-21.

The origin of this incident is explained from pragmatic and apologetic motives. Its inner logic, however, is for the explanation of the cult, in which the causality of the real life is elevated. Concerning this report in the Gospel of John, Bertram says, "Hier, wo nicht mehr Geschichte erzählt werden, sondern religiöses Leben geweckt werden soll, kommt es auf logische Folge der Ereignisse, auf Klarheit und Einheitlichkeit des Berichtes gar nicht an. Alles Tatsächliche wird Joh nur zum Darstellungsmittel für das Geistige. Bei ihm tritt das Wesen der Kulterzählung am reinsten hervor." (1)

4. The Departing Speech of Jesus in Luke and John.

Luke has compiled this speech of departure out of a number of traditional words of the Lord which he saved for this end. In Luke 24.29,30 there is a connection of a Jewish-Christian tradition with the Logia in Matthew 19.28. Verse 29 has no relation to the Last Supper; verse 30 belongs by the side of the old Lucan Passover report, while the following and the preceding verses correspond more to the presupposed ideas of the Zebedeans' entreaty.

Historically one stands here in the midst of the development. "Bis zur schriftlichen Fixierung in Lucan-Evangelium ist es der umbildenden mündlichen Tradition noch nicht gelungen, die disparaten

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Fragmente völlig einheitlich zu gestalten; mit der Aufnahme durch Lc. aber sind sie dem lebendigen Fluss der mündlichen "Überlieferung entzogen und somit in ihrer ursprünglichen gegenseitigen Sprödigkeit erhalten." (1)

The section in John 13-17 shows us an ideal sphere, exhibiting the insertion concerning the sacrament of the washing of the feet, which first stands in the midpoint of the report. This has proceeded wholly from the sphere of profane happenings.

5. The Prediction of the Denial. Mark 14.26-31 (Parallels).

The passages which describe the last hours before Christ was taken prisoner call attention clearly and significantly that Jesus has presupposed His destiny in individual places, and that such correspond to Old Testament prophecies. "Durch solchen Hinweis auf Vorhersage Jesu und alttestamentliche Weissagung räumen sie jeden Anstoss für den Leser hinweg." (2)

C. Gethsemane. Mark 14.32-42 (Parallels).

One finds here the strongest proof for the true humanity of Jesus through which the Synoptists cast their whole theory concerning the prophecy of the suffering and sonship of Jesus, of the founding of the Lord's Supper and the sacrificial death. One must recognize that there is not a precise report of the Master's words in this hour, but only a repeating of the contents of His prayer.

The motive of the cup in the Lord's Supper descends from the cult language. In the passage which preceded, it is used in a transferred way and descends probably from the apocalyptic

Ibid., (1) p. 40; (2) p. 42.

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language, since even in the Old Testament the significance of the cup can scarcely suffice in this connection. The cup of Jahweh's wrath (Jeremiah 25.15ff., Psalm 75.9) parallels the cup of deepest sorrow; it has cosmic worldly significance. The Zebedeans shall drink the cup of the martyrs and be baptized with the baptism with which Jesus is baptized, as it is reported in the speech of martyrdom. "Denn um ein Märtyrer-leiden handelt es sich hier, um das Trinken des Leidenskelches, den Gott selbst seinen Zeugen bereitet hat. Damit wandelt sich der eschatologische Terminus in einen kultischen, da ja dieses Trinken des Leidenskelches, dieses Martyrium mit seiner stellvertretenden Sühnkraft konstitutive Bedeutung für den Kult hat." (1)

The sleeping of the disciples and their awakening meet no historical situation, but are to be understood in the sense of the parable, "Bléssed are those whom the Lord finds awake." The adventure of Jesus in Luke stands as the midpoint of the exhibition and experiences a cult enlargement. As soon as one perceives the scene from the standpoint of doctrinal, Christological ideas it becomes clear that the prayer of Jesus, which stands as the middle point of the passage, must become for the Christian community an occasion of a conceived religious, cultural event. "Der Jesus von Gethsemane ist der Jesus des Kultes." (2)

II. The Suffering of Jesus. Mark 14.43-15.41 (Parallels).

A. Taking of Him as Prisoner and the Condemnation.

Mark 14.43-15.41 (Parallels).

July 14-15-16 (Wednesday).

1. Meeting of the Committee and the Commission.

July 14-15-16 (Wednesday).

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July 14-15-16 (Wednesday).

July 14-15-16 (Wednesday).

July 14-15-16 (Wednesday).

July 14-15-16 (Wednesday).

Matthew and Luke have accomplished the following motive in the explanation concerning the taking of Jesus as prisoner:

1. The kiss of Judas; 2. the taking of the prisoner;
3. the striking with the sword; 4. the flight of the disciples.

Mark reports an individual case concerning the actual tradition of the decree and the flight of the disciples; but since this had no meaning in relation to the cult explanation it was later forgotten. Luke uses the motive of the sword to let Jesus act in a manner which will present Him as Saviour. Throughout the whole picture Jesus differs from the martyrs only in His position in the cult. Christ's suffering alone had dependent value; there is the involved idea of the suffering of the cult god.

Although the exhibition of the trial (Mark 14.53-15.20) is more concerned about the facts than about the person, the procedure has an inner significance for the community. The community had to become conscious of its good conscience in order to follow after its Lord, when it was before the judgment place of the heathens. "Auch bei der Darstellung dieser Szene haben praktische Interessen ihren Einfluss geltend gemacht, und zwar war es vor allem das kultische Bewusstsein, das die Gemeindevorstellung von dem Gang des Prozesses bestimmte." (1)

Bertram states in regard to the trial of Jesus that it is safer to assume that an actual trial before the Sanhedrin did not take place, but that a group of authoritative people, enemies of Jesus, had taken the facts in their hands and presented them before Pilate.

B. The Denial of Peter. Mark 14.54, 66-72 (Parallels).

The incident may have happened, but the purpose of it seems to be that of showing Jesus' wonderful foreknowledge rather than the offense of a disciple. "Und in dieser Richtung erhält die Geschichte einen hohen paradigmatischen Wert.....Aber der kultische Charakter der Tradition vermochte auch solche Dinge zu ertragen und sie sogar durch Betonung gewisser Nebenzüge wie der Erfüllung der Vorhersage Jesu und durch die Darstellung der Reue dem kultischen Bewusstsein der Gemeinde zu assimilieren, sie dem Gottesdienst dienstbar zu machen." (1)

C. The Presentation before Pilate. Mark 15.1-5 (Parallels).

This scene does not rest securely on tradition. Instead of being a historical report it is a picture which was meant to show the judge of the world before the human judge. It is not only a historical picture out of the life of Jesus, but a cult picture of the early community whose characteristic features are determined through das numinose Erlebnis of Jesus' disciples. "Denn diese Jesusworte der Pilatusszene legen wie kaum sonst welche Zeugnis ab von der Überweltlichen Hoheit dieses Angeklagten; sie sind wiederum ein beredtes Zeugnis für das Jesusbild der Kulterzählung." (2)

III. The Execution of Judgment. Mark 15.21-41 (Paraelels).

The crucifixion scene became finally one of the fulfilled prophecies; but, as a fundamental historical fact, it is to be taken rather lightly. The place of the crucifixion serves no historical or explanatory interests, but only a cultish interest.

"Beide Faktoren, Weissagungsbeweis und Legende stehen im Dienst des Kultes und, was sie auch hier darstellen wollen, ist das Christusbild der gläubigen Gemeinde. Es war dabei nicht leicht, diesen ungefügigen Stoff zu meistern und aus ihm eine Kulturzählung zu gestalten." (1)

Different motives play a role here in the crucifixion scene, -the drink motive and the motive of the last words. The scene of the officer under the cross has cultish value and significance, because the Roman government places itself in the personage of its officer under the cross. The piercing of Jesus with a sword and the breaking of the legs, as shown in the Gospels of John and Peter respectively, lie outside of the realm of reality.

In the crucifixion scene there is a series of events which glorify Jesus and have, at the same time, a specific cult significance. The second word of Jesus on the cross shows the cult interest more than the first. The second word "ist erst möglich auf dem Boden eines festen Gemeindeglaubens an den Erhöhten." (2)

The Passion Story has never existed as an historic report, but the historical reminiscence which it contained have been placed in the framework of a cult-explanation. The crucifixion scene is to be observed by the eye of the believer rather than the eye of the historian.

Some of Bertram's concluding remarks on his theory are:

The Passion Story is the explanation of the cult of Christianity; the scene in Gethsemane has been colored considerably; an original report of the scene as such would be

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psychologically impossible.

Concerning the Messiasgemeinde Bertram says, "Diese Gemeinde unterschied sich von der jüdischen Kultgemeinde, deren Teil sie war, zunächst nur durch die ihr eigentümliche Kulterzählung, die infolgedessen auch in vielen Einzelheiten, in den erfüllten Weissagungen wie in der Erzählung vom letzten Pascha Jeus, aus jüdischer Kultüberlieferung schöpfte." (1)

In the Christian cult-community the earthly features of Jesus and the heavenly characteristics of Christ united together.

"So war es eine Tat der Selbsterhaltung, als die Kirche sich für die vier Evangelien entschied, nicht weil sie das historische Jesusbild wiedergaben, sondern weil sie aus dem Kultus stammten und sich im Kultus bewährt hatten." (2)

Ibid., (1) p. 99; (2) p. 102.

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Unity of Definition.

A fair critic of the Synoptic Gospels is aware that Formgeschichte scholars have made an approach to the Synoptic Problem which is praiseworthy in many respects. He is conscious that their method is new and has not stood the test of investigation over a period of years; but at the same time he realizes that the results which they have reached thus far are significant.

Perhaps one of the most outstanding features of the Formgeschichte approach is the unity of definition which its scholars have attained. They may not agree upon many of the smaller points relative to a definition of the problem, but regarding the problem as a whole they approximate each other very closely. For example, Albertz and Bultmann wrote their works at the same time, each independent of the other; they dealt only with the Synoptic Gospels and arrived at some very similar results. The fruits of Dibelius' labors also closely paralleled Albertz's and Bultmann's conclusions, where they dealt with the same material. All of these men dealt with much of the same material, because it particularly impressed them as being form-material. Furthermore, they were impressed by certain structural peculiarities which caused them to classify a large group of passages as Formgeschichte. If scholars can agree as these men have,

Policy or Practice

A full article of the Synoptic Gospels is under way
The Synoptic Gospels have been an approach to the
Synoptic Gospels which is primarily in many respects.
It is common that their method is not and not used
the best of investigation over a period of years; but at the
same time he realized that the results which they have reached
then that was significant.

Further one of the most outstanding features of the
Synoptic Gospels approach is the matter of definition which has
not been have attained. They may not have been part of the
analysis points relative to a definition of the problem, but
regarding the problem as a whole they produce each other
very clearly. For example, Albert and E. J. B. have their
works at the same time, each taking part of the other, they
begin only with the Synoptic Gospels, and arrived at some
very similar results. The results of E. J. B. have also
closely examined Albert's and Albert's conclusions.
where they begin with the same material. All of these men
begin with much of the same material, because it is similar
imposed then as being that material. Furthermore, they
have imposed up certain standard definitions which
would lead to a single large body of passages in
the Synoptic Gospels. It would seem as if these men have

one realizes that in spite of some of the subjective methods employed by them there is still a large degree of objectivity in their approach.

Each of these scholars views much of the material in the Synoptic Gospels as resulting from sayings and narratives which passed from mouth to mouth, receiving the polish and form of the existent literary laws of oral-transmission. These form-stories were later collected together and put in writing and used as "the Gospel". All believe that the disciples of Jesus were unliterary men, who did not have the desire or ability to put Jesus' words and acts into written documents. They also are able to discern with a great amount of agreement a similarity of structure in the same passages, which gives each a basis for his assumed theory.

When one compares Bultmann, Dibelius, and Bertram in their treatment of the Passion Story one finds, in spite of their minute differences, a large degree of unity. They look upon the latter events of the Lord's life as resulting from myth or legend. Such agreement is revealing.

One acknowledges that the arrival at such unity in the definition of a problem is worthy of appreciation. It causes one to place evaluation upon a theory, even though it is new and unique.

Doublets and Formgeschichte.

One is greatly impressed with the fact that there are

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Each of these scholars views most of the material in the Synoptic Gospels as coming from various sources and traditions which passed from mouth to mouth, receiving the Gospel and form of the existing literary form of oral transmission. These form-stories were later collected together and put in writing and used as "the Gospel". All believe that the disciples of Jesus were eyewitnesses, and did not have the habit of adding to the Jesus' words and acts into written documents. They also are able to discern with a great amount of agreement a similarity of structure in the same passages, which gives each a basis for his assumed theory.

When one compares Bultmann, Michaelis, and Reitzenstein in their treatment of the Synoptic Gospels one finds, in spite of their minute differences, a large degree of unity. They look upon the literary events of the Jesus' life as something that grew up or formed. Such agreement is revealing.

One acknowledges that the arrival of each unity in the definition of a problem is worthy of attention. It takes one to place evaluation upon a theory, even though it is new and unique.

Synoptic and Form-Critical

One is greatly impressed with the fact that there are

so-called 'doublets' in the Synoptic Gospels. One may hold to written documents as the basis for the majority of the first three Gospels, and yet have mental reservation that oral tradition may have entered into the problem due to the existence of 'doublets'. Some believe that the doublets, with their almost exact similarities, - and yet with slight differences, - point precisely to oral tradition and perhaps to forms.

In the Synoptic Gospels there are eighteen doublets, some of which appear in two or three of the Gospels. They are found in the following references:

Mt. 4.24,25.....	Mt. 12.15
Lk. 8.16.....	Lk. 11.33
Lk. 8.17.....	Lk. 12.2
Mt. 13.12.....	Mt. 25.29
Lk. 8.18b.....	Lk. 19.26
Mt. 14.14.....	Mt. 9.36
Mt. 12.38,39.....	Mt. 16.1,2,4
Mt. 26.24.....	Mt. 10.38
Lk. 9.23.....	Lk. 14.27
Mt. 16.25.....	Mt. 10.39
Lk. 9.24.....	Lk. 17.33
Lk. 9.26a.....	Lk. 12.8,9
Mk. 9.35b.....	Mk. 10.43,44
Mt. 23.11.....	Mt. 20.26,27
Lk. 9.48b.....	Lk. 22,26
Lk. 14.11.....	Lk. 18.14b
Mt. 18.8,9.....	Mt. 5.29,30
Mt. 19.9.....	Mt. 5.32

Mt. 19.30.....Mt. 20.16
 Mt. 21.21.....Mt. 17.20
 Mt. 10.21-22b.....Mt. 9. 9, 13
 Mt. 24.42.....Mt. 25.13
 Mk. 6.31-44.....Mk. 8.1-10 (Feeding of the
 Mt. 14.13-21.....Mt. 15.32-39 5000 and 4000)

As one reads the contents of the doublets, one is confronted with two ways of receiving them. Either, in each case, there were two incidents or two groups of sayings that were almost identically the same, and there is a record of them here in the eighteen doublets; or, the same narrative or saying has been somewhat changed through two avenues of transmission, each appearing in the written records. Each is a possible manner for interpreting the doublets. Jesus may have made some of His statements many times, sometimes in a somewhat different way, and with a varied background for the sayings; they may have been heard by a different group of hearers and thus finally in the written transmission have contained expressions different from those heard by others.

But perhaps it is better to regard the doublet as coming from the same source, being altered differently as it was transmitted through different hearers. Moffatt says in a footnote regarding this, "The fusion of Mk. with Q and other sources is shown by the presence of the doublets. These do not invariably denote different sources; still in the main they point, not to different occasions on which Jesus uttered the same kind of word, but to variant traditions of the same saying or deed."(1)

(1) Introduction to the New Testament, p. 183.

Mr. J. H. ...
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as one of the members of the committee, and in con-
 sidered also two ways of resolving them. It is
 clear, there were two instances of the group of people that
 were almost identically the same, and there is a record of that
 here in the eighteen hundred, or the same narrative of events
 has been recorded, and it is a record of the same
 and appearing in the written records. It is a record
 under the investigation of the committee. It is a record
 some of the statements made, and it is a record of a number
 different way, and with a varied background for the same
 they may have been made by a different group of people and
 then finally in the written translation have contained
 different from those made by others.

But perhaps it is better to regard the matter as being
 from the same source, being almost identical as it was
 explained in the different sources. It is a record of a number
 made regarding this. The issue of the same is not
 correct as shown by the evidence of the committee. There is not
 invariably done different manner; still in the same way
 point, but to different sources on which these records are
 made when it comes, but to various translations of the same matter

of 1900 (1)

If one were to believe that written fragments existed about 40 A.D., which were to form the nucleus of the Gospels thirty years later, one would still face the fact of oral transmission between Jesus' earthly ministry and the time of written transmission. One must also consider the possibility of some oral transmission entering the compilation by Mark in 70, and the other Synoptic compilers a few years later, even though there were written fragments existing about 40.

The Formgeschichte theorists believe that written sources did not exist until shortly before the Gospels themselves were compiled, thus doing away with any written documents until almost 70 A.D.. During the forty years of oral transmission forms were produced for the Gospel sayings and narratives. One may rightfully ask the question about the forms arising between 33 and 40 when there was oral transmission. And the doublets seem to prompt such a question.

The criticism as a whole which will be suggested regarding the so-called forms of Bultmann, Dibelius, Bertram, and Albertz has the same value in criticizing the forms which might have arisen before 40 A.D., with the added weight that forms would be less likely to result within a period of ten years after Jesus' teaching, since during that period there would be disciples who could give verification to the compilation of sayings and narratives. Consequently, a natural transmission instead of a stereotyped form-transmission would more likely be the result.

However, in the case of the doublets one is brought before a real issue which results in the question, "Did not some kind of forms exist before 40 A.D.?" The answer is, "Yes." There was a certain set way in which the details of action or conversation were related and repeated which the doublets show. But so far as classifying these into certain kinds of forms is concerned, such as Bultmann, Dibelius, Albertz, and Bertram have done, one has no basis for so doing. When one considers all of the Gospel material as being orally transmitted at first, even for several years, one must say that a certain amount of form entered. But, so far as minute classification of the forms or the historical evaluation of the forms is concerned, Formgeschichte meets its difficulties. Later criticism will attempt to show this. In the doublets one has evidence which points to oral transmission that took on a certain form; but these individual forms give one no basis for classification nor basis for historical evaluation.

It is significant to regard the existence of doublets as one attempts to evaluate Formgeschichte in the Synoptic Gospels. One must deal with them; one cannot push them aside. It does appear that oral tradition has entered into the means of transmission. Few would contend that oral tradition did not play its role for at least a decade; the doublets certainly point to this. Yet one must not confuse oral tradition with Formgeschichte, as its German exponents define it.

If one makes a comparison of the various doublets, one will see little of a structural nature which will persuade one that

However, in the case of the Gospels and in the case of the
a real issue which remains in the question, "Did not some kind
of form exist before 40 A.D.?" The answer is, "Yes." There
was a certain way in which the Gospels of Matthew or Mark
were written and related and related with the Gospels of
but so far as classifying these into certain kinds of forms is
concerned such as Synoptic, Apocryphal, etc., and perhaps have
gone, one has no basis for so doing. When one considers all of
the Gospel material as being orally transmitted at first, even
for several years, one must say that a certain amount of form
entered. But, so far as the classification of the forms of
the historical evaluation of the forms is concerned, form-criticism
needs to be distinguished. Later criticism will attempt to show
this. In the Gospels one has evidence which points to oral
transmission that took on a certain form; but these individual
forms give one no basis for classification nor basis for historical
evaluation.

It is significant to review the evidence of Gospels as
one attempts to evaluate form-criticism in the Synoptic Gospels.
One must deal with them; one cannot leave them alone. It goes
without saying that criticism has entered into the study of form-
criticism. For words suggest that oral tradition did not stay
the same for at least a decade; the Gospels certainly point
to this. Yet one must not confuse oral tradition with
form-criticism, as the former explains the latter.

It makes a comparison of the various Gospels, and will
see little of a structural nature which will perhaps use that

form-laws have been employed with consistency in this material. One will, however, observe that a consistency of form in regard to one particular narrative has existed; some small insignificant details may have been altered; but the form-structure of the story, transmitted doubly, has been preserved almost intact.

Certain examples will show how the form in certain doublets has been retained:

Matthew 12.38,39

Then certain of the scribes and Pharisees answered him, saying, Teacher, we would see a sign from thee.

But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah the prophet:

Matthew 16.1,2,4

And the Pharisees and Sadducees came, and trying him asked him to show them

a sign from heaven.

But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign but there shall no sign be given unto it, but the sign of Jonah.

Matthew 19.30

But many shall be last that are first; and first that are last.

Matthew 20.16

So the last shall be first, and the first last.

Matthew 21.21

And Jesus answered and said unto them,

Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith, and doubt not, ye shall not only do what is done to the fig tree, but even if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea,

Matthew 17.20

And he saith unto them, Because of your little faith: for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith

as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence

Some laws have been suggested with consistency in this regard.
 One will, however, observe that a consistency of form in regard
 to one particular narrative has existed; some small inconsistencies
 details may have been altered; but the form-structure of the
 story, transmitted orally, has been preserved almost intact.
 Certain examples will show how the form in certain details
 has been retained:

Matthew 18.1-5

And the Pharisees and
 Sadducees came, and trying
 him asked him to show
 them
 a sign from heaven.
 But he answered and
 said unto them, An evil
 and adulterous generation
 seeketh after a sign; but
 there shall no sign be
 given unto it, but the sign
 of Jonah.

Matthew 18.20, 23

Then certain of the
 Pharisees and Pharisees
 answered him, saying,
 Teacher, we would see
 a sign from thee.
 But he answered and
 said unto them, An evil
 and adulterous generation
 seeketh after a sign; and
 there shall no sign be
 given to it but the sign
 of Jonah the prophet:

Matthew 20.15

So the
 last shall be first,
 and the first last.

Matthew 19.30

But many shall be
 last that are first;
 and first that are last.

Matthew 11.30

And ye
 will not say, I have
 peace, because of your
 saying, I have peace,
 for verily I say unto you,
 if ye have peace,
 ye shall say unto this
 mountain, Remove hence,
 and thou shalt be taken up and
 cast into the sea.

Matthew 21.21

And Jesus answered
 and said unto them,
 Verily I say unto you,
 if ye have faith,
 and doubt not, ye shall
 not only do what is done
 to the fig tree, but even
 ye shall say unto this
 mountain, Be thou
 taken up and
 cast into the sea,

it shall be done.

to yonder place; and it
shall remove; and nothing
shall be impossible
unto you.

Matthew 24.42

Watch therefore:
for ye know not on what
day your Lord cometh.

Matthew 25.13

Watch therefore,
for ye know not the day
nor the hour.

Matthew 18.8,9

And if thy hand or thy foot
causeth thee to stumble,
cut it off, and cast it from
thee: it is good for thee to
enter into life maimed or
halt, rather than having two
hands or two feet to be cast
into eternal fire.

And if thine eye causeth
thee to stumble, pluck it out,
and cast it from thee:
it is good for thee to enter
into life with one eye,
rather than having two eyes
to be cast into the hell of
fire.

Matthew 5.29,30

And if thy right hand
causeth thee to stumble,
cut it off, and cast it from
thee: for it is profitable for
thee that one of thy
members should perish, and not
thy whole body go into hell.

And if thy right eye causeth
thee to stumble, pluck it out,
and cast it from thee:
for it is profitable for thee that
one of thy members should perish,
and not thy whole body be
cast into hell.

Luke 9.24

For whosoever
would save his life
shall lose it; but
whosoever shall lose
his life for my sake,
the same

shall save it.

Luke 17.33

Whosoever shall
seek to gain his life
shall lose it: but
whosoever shall lose
his life

shall preserve it.

Consequently, one observes in these doublets that, as the
stories were transmitted from mouth to mouth, the form was kept
quite intact, even though small details were changed; one
observes also that most of the details of the doublets were
retained or very closely proximated. Hence, one can logically

to better place; and it
shall remain; and nothing
shall be accomplished
until you.

it shall be done.

Wednesday 12.12.12

Wednesday 12.12.12

Watch therefore;
for ye know not the day
nor the hour.

Watch therefore;
for ye know not on what
day your Lord cometh.

Wednesday 12.12.12

Wednesday 12.12.12

And if thy hand or thy foot
causeth thee to stumble,
cut it off, and send it away
from thee: it is good for thee
to enter into life maimed or
lame, rather than having two
hands or two feet to be cast
into eternal fire.
And if thine eye offend
thee, cut it out, and send it
away from thee: it is good
for thee to enter into life
single-eyed, rather than having
two eyes to be cast into
eternal fire.
Neither shalt thou think that
thou shalt be able to keep
thy whole body, if thou
loosest one of its members:
for if thou loosest one of
these, thou shalt lose the
whole body.

John 12.12

John 12.12

Whoever shall
seek to gain his life
shall lose it: but
whoever shall lose
his life
shall preserve it.

For whoever
would save his life
shall lose it: but
whoever shall lose
his life for my sake,
the same
shall save it.

Consequently, one observes in these Gospels that, as the
stories were transmitted from mouth to mouth, the form was kept
quite intact, even though slight details were changed; one
observes also that most of the details of the Gospels were
retained or very closely preserved. Hence, one can confidently

conclude that oral transmission was undoubtedly practised by the Orientals so well that they remembered small details of stories. Such an admission is in favor of Formgeschichte.

Yet, when one compares the various examples given in the doublets, one finds nothing in their structure to give evidence that structural forms were employed in oral tradition. The conclusion regarding the doublets and Formgeschichte is: The doublets in the Synoptic Gospels show that the Oriental mind retained the original form of narratives and sayings in oral transmission. But the doublets do not reveal structural forms. However, it is significant for Formgeschichte that oral tradition held quite intact the form of the story as it was transmitted through different groups.

Formgeschichte in the Old Testament

It is quite generally agreed that in Israel the period of literary composition was preceded by an era of singing and tale-telling. The tales were transmitted from mouth to mouth, undergoing transformation and taking on the characteristics of story-telling in particular eras. Formgeschichte finds a much more fruitful field of labor in the Old Testament than in the New Testament. But a certain concession must be allowed that, if the Hebrew people resorted to oral tradition with its literary forms which the Old Testament reveals, the same class of people would not have entirely graduated from such a method in the time of Jesus. It seems natural that some kind of Formgeschichte might still be used in the transmitting of the Synoptic material.

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the Greeks as well that they remembered well details of
stories. With an addition in favor of oral transmission.
But when one compares the various examples given in the
Gospels, one finds nothing in their structure to give evidence
that structural forms were employed in oral tradition. The
conclusion regarding the Gospels and Parables is: The
Gospels in the Synoptic Gospels show that the Greek mind
retained the original form of parables and sayings in oral
tradition. But the Gospels do not retain structural forms.
However, it is significant for Parables that oral tradition
held onto almost the form of the story as it was transmitted
through different means.

Parables in the Old Testament

It is quite generally agreed that in Israel the period of
literary composition was preceded by an era of story and tale-
telling. The tales were transmitted from mouth to mouth, under-
going transformation and taking on the characteristics of story.
Telling in particular was. Parables find a much more
familiar field of labor in the Old Testament than in the New
Testament. But a certain concession must be allowed that, in
the Hebrew people resorted to oral tradition with the literary
forms which the Old Testament reveals, the same class of people
would not have entirely excluded from such a method in the
time of Jesus. It seems rather that some kind of Parables
might still be used in the transmitting of the Synoptic material.

Various references to songs, elegies, and Gnostic verses are found in the Old Testament, showing that the use of these was a certain type of form-style. Some of the outstanding examples of this are: (1)

(1) War Songs.

Exodus 17.16, "For he said, Because the Lord hath sworn that the Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation."

Joshua 10.12, "Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou moon, in the valley of the Ajalon."

(2) Taunt Songs.

Numbers 21.27, "Wherefore they that speak in proverbs say, Come unto Heshbon, let the city of Sihon be built and prepared."

(3) Praise of Heroes and Song of Victory.

Exodus 15.21, "And Miriam answered them, Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."

Judges 11.34, "And Jephthah came to Mizpeh unto his house, and, behold, his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances; and she was his only child."

(4) Religious Poesy.

(1) General indebtedness is acknowledged to Sellin, Introduction to the Old Testament, pp. 8-15.

Various references to words, singular, and plural forms are found in the Old Testament, showing that the use of these was a certain type of form-study. Some of the outstanding examples

of this are: (1)

(1) Exodus 17.10

Exodus 17.10, "for he said, because the Lord hath sworn that the Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation."

Exodus 18.10, "Then spoke Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the night of Israel, O Lord, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou moon, in the valley of the shadow."

(2) Exodus 21.27

Exodus 21.27, "Wherefore they that speak in proverb say, Come unto Babylon, for the city of Sion he built and prepared."

(3) Exodus 21.27

Exodus 21.27, "And Miriam answered them, Give ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."

Exodus 21.27, "And Joseph said to his brethren when his

brother, and, behold, his daughter came out to meet him with bracelets and with banners; and she was his only child."

(4) Exodus 21.27

(1) General introduction to the Old Testament, pp. 1-15.

Judges 5.11, "They that are delivered from the noise of archers in the places of drawing water, there shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the Lord, even the righteous acts toward the inhabitants of his villages in Israel; then shall the people of the Lord go down to the gates."

(5) Specific Cultus Poetry.

Numbers 6.24-26, "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace."

Numbers 10.35, "And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that Moses said, "Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee."

(6) Hymns for Singing in Public Worship.

Exodus 32.18, "And he said, It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome: but the noise of them that sing do I hear."

There were also Processional Hymns (Psalms 24.7-10; II Samuel 6.15; Isaiah 30.29); Hymns of Supplication (Psalm 20); Hymns of Thanksgiving (Jeremiah 33.11); Hymns of Lamentation and Penitence (Hosea 6.1-3; 14.1-3).

Certain formulas for cursing and blessing people and things were employed:

Joshua 6.26, "And Joshua adjured them at that time, saying,

Cursed be the man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his firstborn, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it."

Deuteronomy 11.29, "And it shall come to pass, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee in unto the land whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt put the blessing upon mount Gerizim, and the curse upon mount Ebal."

Hebrew poetry has shown characteristic forms in its meter. Bishop Lowth's investigations concluded that there "is the 'parallelism of the members,' the combination of usually two but sometimes three or four verse lines, answering to one another by way of synonym, antithesis or synthesis, to form a verse. That the poetry has also a metre, or more strictly speaking a rhythm, is self-evident. For a good while past the rhythm of the elegy has been held to be demonstrated. This is the Kinah, the so-called halting verse, in which the second line is regularly shorter than the first, in the proportion 3:2." (1)

Examples of this type of form are:

Amos 5.2, "In that day shall one take up a parable against you, and lament with a doleful lamentation, and say, We be utterly spoiled: he hath changed the portion of my people: how hath he removed it from me! turning away he hath divided our fields."

Sellin, Introduction to the Old Testament, (1) p.10; (2) p.11.

...of it."

January 11, 1911, "And it shall come to pass, when the Lord thy God shall bring thee in unto the land which thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim, and the curse upon Mount Ebal."

Hebrew poetry has shown characteristic forms in its order. Henry Brown's investigation concluded that there "is the parallelism of the members," the repetition of usually two but sometimes three or four verse lines, answering to one another by way of synonym, antithesis or apposition, so form a verse. That the poetry has also a metre, or more strictly speaking a rhythm, is self-evident. For a poet while poet the rhythm of the verse has been held to be demonstrated. This is the fifth, the so-called halting verse, in which the second line is regularly another than the first, in the proportion

1:2 (1)

Examples of this type of form are:

Amos 6:1, "In that day will I lay waste to a people against you, and I will break down the tower of the strong, and will lay low the high fortification: he hath despised the portion of his people: how hath he removed it from him: therefore will I turn away from him, and will divide out his inheritance."

Psalm 124, Introduction to the Old Testament, (1) 1:10; (2) 1:11.

Larger units of strophes are found in such places as the Psalms 42 and 43. Furthermore, "that during the whole of Israel's history there existed alongside of the singer's art a custom of story-telling in non-metrical language, the handing on of traditions in a simple narrative form, we have not so much direct evidence; but cf. Deut. 32.7; Jos. 24.2 ff.; I Sam. 12.7 ff. It is, however, just as clearly implied indirectly." (1)

One finds poetic narratives such as myth, saga, legend, tale, and fable in the Old Testament, which have gone through a long process of gradual transformation in oral tradition. Professional story-tellers, as well as priests, preserved and transmitted these stories as they journeyed from place to place. "Long before they were fixed in writing in the form in which we find them, the separate sagas must have been joined together into saga-cycles, nay, in some portions worked up with the art of the story-writer, for in these portions the Folk-stories are already subservient to a higher literary idea which binds them together into a unity." (2)

The use of stories and songs, as handed from place to place by professional story-tellers and songsters, points most vividly to a type of Formgeschichte in the Old Testament. The story-teller and singers would naturally employ certain laws in the organization of their material, and would then transmit it to their hearers in form-style. By the time writing was employed these stories and songs were stereotyped in the minds of the various hearers with a large degree of unity.

(1) Sellin, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 11;

(2) Article in H.B.D., Extra Volume, "Style of Scripture", pp. 156-169.

A German scholar, Ed. König, has made detailed investigation regarding characteristic forms in the Old Testament. (1) Some of his results, which one views under the following classifications, are most enlightening:

1. There is a preference for the copulative conjunction:

Polysyndeton. Examples: "Shem and Ham and Japheth" (Genesis 9.18); "Thou nor thy son nor thy daughter nor thy man servant nor thy maidservant" (Deuteronomy 5.14); "Thou shalt not kill, neither shalt thou commit adultery, neither shalt thou steal, neither, etc. (Deuteronomy 5. 17-21).

2. Instances of Hendiadys, the simple method of coordinating ideas, are: "Let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years" (Genesis 1.14), which means probably, "Let them serve as signs for seasons," etc.; "Feasting and gladness (Esther 9.18) means "feasting of gladness"; "glory and strength" (Psalm 29.1; Psalm 96.7) means "glory of strength".

3. Interjections are frequently thrown in. "Behold!" is an outstanding example (Genesis 1.31, 6.12, 8.13, 18.2, 19.28, etc.)

4. Direct speech is often used. "Let there be light" (Genesis 1.3); "Let there be a firmament" (Genesis 5.6).

5. Palindromy is the method in which one returns to the original starting-point. "And it repented the Lord that he had made man...and the Lord said, I will destroy...for it repenteth me that I have made them," (Genesis 6.6 f.); "The Lord scattered

(1) Article in H.B.D., Extra Volume, "Style of Scripture", pp.156-169.

them abroad... Therefore is the name of it called Babel...and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad" (Genesis 11.8 f.); "The nakedness of thy mother shalt thou not uncover; she is thy mother, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness (Leviticus 18.7); "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him" (Genesis 1.27).

6. Metonymy is used in such instances as, "seed" (Genesis 3.15) which means 'descendants'; "the earth" means 'the source of its products' (Genesis 3.17, Isaiah 1.7b).

7. Synecdoche is commonly employed. "The Jebusite" etc. (Genesis 10.16 f.); "and the Cananite was then in the land (Genesis 12.6).

8. Single verbs express two cognate actions; the use is called Zeugma. Comparison of 'brake' in Psalm 76.3 and Ezekiel 6.9 shows this.

9. The Riddle strives after a witty use of words in a double sense. Examples are found in Judges 14.14 and 5.18, Proverbs 30.15.

10. Other means of style are found in the employment of the Example, the Proverb, the Fable, the Parable, the Allegory, the Metaphor, the Epizeuxis as "Abraham, Abraham" (Genesis 46.2), the Climax, the Hyperbole, Saracasm, Euphemisms, Alliteration, and Euphony.

The results of such intricate scholarship as König has made reveal that Formgeschichte of a certain type was frequent in the Old Testament. Undoubtedly, some of the methods of

transmission employed in the formation of the Old Testament would carry over into New Testament compilation. One should appreciate this fact for its full worth in making study of Formgeschichte in the New Testament, even though the time for writing the latter is from several thousand to several hundred years later. Much of the old method used in composing the Old Testament would be archaic; but, on the other hand, there would be a tendency for some form-styles to continue in use.

Hence, if Formgeschichte was a tool employed in Israel during the many centuries in which the Old Testament was formulated, there is a possibility that it was also in vogue during the formation of the New Testament material; yet, there is a possibility that the method had greatly changed by 30 A.D.; one must be open-minded and allow the text of the Synoptic Gospels to be the revealing light for one's attitude.

Form-types in Jesus' Private Explanations to His Disciples.

One is constantly face to face with another question when he makes a study of the Synoptic Gospels for the purpose of discovering forms. The question is this: Does one see in certain passages the method of Jesus exposed, or does one see the kernel of Jesus' words and acts placed in a stereotyped form by the writer of the Gospel material? The way in which one decides this question will to a large extent determine one's attitude toward Formgeschichte.

There is a certain type of form which one finds ten different times in the Gospel of Mark where Jesus calls His disciples aside after certain words have been said or certain actions performed

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Old Testament would be repeated, but on the other hand, there
would be a tendency for some form-style to continue in use.
Hence, if form-criticism was a fact, evidence in Jewish
writing the many centuries in which the Old Testament was
composed, there is a possibility that it was also in some
during the formation of the New Testament material. But, if
it is a possibility that the material had greatly changed by 70 A.D.,
one must be very careful not to take the form of the Gospel
Gospels as the real thing for one's studies.

Form-criticism in Jewish, Hellenistic, and Christian
One is constantly told to have with oneself a question when
making a study of the Synoptic Gospels for the purpose of discovering
the form. The question is this: Does one see in certain passages
the method of Jesus reported, or does one see the kernel of Jesus
words and acts placed in a stereotyped form by the writer of the
Gospel material? The way in which one decides this question will
to a large extent determine one's attitude toward form-criticism.
There is a certain type of form which one finds in his
times in the Gospel of Mark where Jesus calls his disciples and
other certain words have been said or certain actions performed

in order that a clearer explanation may be made to the disciples. These different examples offer a tempting field for the student of Formgeschichte to promulgate his theory. A display of these ten passages shows the basis one has for believing a certain type of form exists in them:

Mark 4. 10, 13. Jesus has told the parable of the sower to the multitude, "And when he was alone, they that were about him with the twelve asked of him the parable. And he said unto them, Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables: That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins be forgiven them. And he said unto them, Know ye not this parable? and how then will ye know all parables?" Then Jesus explains the parable to the group in order that they may understand.

Mark 8.34-38. Peter has confessed that Jesus is the Christ at Caesarea Philippi; Peter has then been rebuked by Jesus for his attitude toward Jesus' statement regarding His Suffering, Death, and Resurrection. "And when he had called the people unto him with his disciples also, he said unto them, Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it....."

Mark 9.28, 29. The disciples were not able to cast out the deaf and dumb spirit; Jesus cast it out immediately. "And when he was come into the house, his disciples asked him privately,

in order that a clearer explanation may be made to the students.
These different examples after a careful study of the material
of Exercises in Grammar to illustrate the theory. A display of these
and passages about the words and how the collection of certain types
of form exists in them:

Week 2. 10.15. When we find the nucleus of the power to
the nucleus, "and when we are alone, that that power exists in
with the active power of the nucleus. And he said unto them,
then you are given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God;
for unto them that are obedient, all these things are done in
parables: that seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing
they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be
converted, and they shall be forgiven them. And he said unto them,
know ye not this parable? and how shall ye know all parables?
Then Jesus explained the parable to them in order that they
may understand.

Week 2. 10.20. Jesus has explained that Jesus is the Son of
at Capernaum; after he, then being rejected by them for his
attitude toward them, returned to his native place,
and was rejected. "And when he had called the twelve unto him
with his disciples, he said unto them, Whosoever will come
after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow
me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whoso-
ever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, he shall
save it."

Week 2. 10.25. The disciples were not able to hear out the
fact and that Jesus; Jesus said to them, "And when
he was come into the house, his disciples asked him privately,

Why could not we cast him out? And he said unto them, This kind can come forth by nothing, but by prayer and fasting."

Mark 9.35-37. The disciples had been disputing on the way to Capernaum in regard to which one was greatest. "And he sat down, and called the twelve, and saith unto them, If any man desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and servant of all. And he took a child, and set him in the midst of them....."

Mark 10.10-12. Jesus has disputed with the Pharisees in regard to divorcement. "And in the house his disciples asked him again of the same matter. And he saith unto them, Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she, committeth adultery."

Mark 10.23. After the rich young man, who had kept all the commandments, has left Jesus, because he could not give all he had to the poor, "Jesus looked round about, and saith unto his disciples, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God."

Mark 10.42. The disciples have shown dissatisfaction over the attitude of James and John desiring the coveted places near Jesus. "But Jesus called them to him, and saith unto them, Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them."

Mark 12.43. The widow has just cast in her two mites. "And he called unto his disciples, and saith unto them. Verily I say unto you, That this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast into the treasury."

Mark 13.3-5. Christ has foretold the destruction of the temple, "And as he sat upon the mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him privately, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled? And Jesus answering them began to say, Take heed lest any man deceive you...."

Mark 13.28. Christ has been foretelling the signs of his second coming; He begins rather abruptly to explain what He has meant. " Now learn a parable of the fig tree; When her branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is near."

In each of these passages one observes that Jesus calls a small group of His disciples aside to explain some saying or action more clearly. In itself the procedure is a form. But there are no data that would allow one to say that Jesus was using a popular form method. The method itself seems natural because Jesus did make some statements that needed a great deal of explanation; people today would be very grateful if He had clarified some of His statements which have caused scholars a great deal of disputation, since His words left an enigmatic conclusion.

The disciples were not literary men; they were not profound philosophers. They were individuals who were willing to learn from Jesus. If one is to judge some of them by their actions,-- Peter's denial, James and John in their desire for the chief places, the disciples' arguing over who was the greatest among them, Judas' betrayal, - one believes that it was very necessary that Jesus should make many private explanations and interpretations to His disciples. Undoubtedly He did, and there are ten of them given to us in Mark's Gospel.

One cannot state here with absolute certainty that these are not structural forms, which resulted from oral tradition as affected by form-laws; neither can he state the opposite. But, even in spite of the similarities which appear in the examples, one finds so many differences in structure that lead one to discard the passages as resulting from Formgeschichte of the structural nature which the leading German exponents sustain.

Yet, there is a certain species of form, which probably resulted from Jesus' method. Consequently, one must appreciate these forms for their full value, and realize that a particular kind of Formgeschichte exists in the examples given. But one can go no farther in one's theorizing, since Formgeschichte dare not go over into the field of form-criticism. One can only say that, so far as the objective material is concerned, the text reveals Jesus' method as adopting a certain form-type of private explanation to his disciples, after He had performed or talked before the multitude.

A Comparison of the Person-form in John and the Synoptics.

If one takes a comprehensive glance at the Synoptic Gospels and then observes the Fourth Gospel in regard to form as a whole, one finds a very outstanding difference. It is that of person. One finds the first person, the pronoun "I", used throughout the Gospel of John; one finds the third person form used almost entirely in the Synoptics.

The Johannine Gospel does deal with different material from that of the Synoptics to a large degree. But one finds the different pronouns used in material which is of the same nature

and kind; it is obvious that the material has been colored by the form that the particular writers desired to use. A certain kind of Formgeschichte is observed.

This can be illustrated by taking passages from the Synoptics and the Gospel of John, as follows:

Mark 2.10, "But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power..."

Mark 2.28, "Son of man is Lord of the Sabbath."

Mark 3.12, "And he straitly charged them that they should not make him known."

Mark 5.19, "Tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee.."

Mark 8.31, "And he began to teach them, that the Son of Man must suffer.."

Mark 8.38, "Of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father.."

Mark 9.9,12, "He charged them that they should tell no man what things they had seen, till the Son of man were risen from the dead...And he answered and told them, Elias verily cometh first, and restoreth all things; and how it is written of the Son of man."

Mark 9.31, "Saying, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be delivered...and they shall condemn him to death, and shall deliver him...."

Mark 10.45, "For even the Son of man came not be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."

Mark 11.3, "And if any man say unto you, Why do ye this? say ye that the Lord hath need of him.."

Mark 13.26-27, "And then shall they see the Son of man..and then shall he send his angels.."

Mark 13.34-36, "For the Son of man is as a man taking a far journey..for he know not when the master of the house cometh..Lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping."

Mark 14.21, "The Son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him; but woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed!"

Mark 14.62, "And ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power."

The predominant note in the Markan passages, which are paralleled in Luke and Matthew, is that the third person takes in the majority of cases "the Son of man" form. Out of the eighteen references, Jesus talks of Himself as "the Son of man" in thirteen of them. One can safely say that "the Son of man" third person form predominates in the Synoptic Gospels when Jesus refers to Himself.

What a difference one finds in the Fourth Gospel. A few examples from this Gospel will illustrate the point clearly:

In John 5. 30-47, where Jesus is talking about the two resurrections and the fourfold witness of Himself, the first person pronouns are used thirty-one times. The great discourse on the bread of life, John 6. 32-57, has Jesus use the first person pronouns forty-two times. The passages which refer to

Jesus as the light of the world, John 8.12-59, colored with the first person pronouns used by Jesus in reference to Himself, show ninety-two times. In the fifteenth chapter of the Fourth Gospel concerning the vine and the branches, Jesus employs the first person pronouns fifty-four times. .

These four references show the tendency which predominates in the Gospel of John as compared with the third person form of the Synoptics. If one resorts to such a comparison as the one just made, one can observe that form distinguishes one type of Gospel from the other; there is a type of Formgeschichte inherent in each of the sayings of Jesus regarding Himself.

However, if one realizes that the motive behind the Fourth Gospel, as compared with the Synoptics, is very different, one can account for the various styles. If the Gospel of John is a book of spiritual memoirs, written between 70 and 100 by John Zebedee or some follower of him, not necessarily based on written records, it is easy to understand why the writer might have placed the "I" element in the passages. Scholarship today agrees quite widely that the Fourth Gospel is not strictly an historical book and that it is highly colored by its writer.

When one considers a degree of truthfulness in this attitude toward the Johannine Gospel, one is able to refer its form to its author. If the Fourth Gospel is not strictly historical, one need not judge that the Synoptics are also lacking in historicity. If the Synoptics have a general style, dissimilar to the

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Gospel of John, it may be deduced that perhaps the former are historically sound.

One is confronted with two types of form in these different types of Gospels. So far as the data in the Synoptics are concerned, there is nothing to designate that the third person form which Jesus used in reference to Himself is un-authentic. Formgeschichte there is of a certain nature; but one can only conclude that forms are there because the method of Jesus employed them. It seems as though Jesus' method was consistent enough to allow textual critics room to search for Formgeschichte of various kinds.

A General Classification of Forms.

If one desires to make a classification of forms, one must make it upon the basis of structure or content of the Gospel material. Later criticism will attempt to show that structure in itself does not necessarily lead to form-classification; some of the comparisons will show that the structure of the so-called forms reveals more differences than similarities. In making their classifications upon the basis of structure the Formgeschichte scholars have weakened their plea.

However, if one makes an attempt at a simple classification of the Gospel material into forms upon the basis of content, one is confronted with a different situation. Such a classification gives hope for Formgeschichte. As Jesus became the teacher of the new religion, He found a double

task confronting Him; namely, to combat the old religion especially the rabbinic teachings, and to teach the new religion to His hearers. The first led in a natural way to controversy with the Scribes and Pharisees; dialogues of various kinds resulted. But the nature of the introduction, the number of hearers, the form of question and answer, the kind of conclusions, and other minute details should not necessarily be considered by Formgeschichte, since the objective data give no true basis for consideration.

But Jesus had more to do than to argue on points regarding the old religion. He wished to show the precepts of the new way as well. In the disputes there was as much pedagogy, perhaps, as controversy, but He was not able to teach in the direct positive manner which He desired. Consequently, many of Jesus' sayings were occasioned by the purpose of giving to the people a foundation for finding God in a new and better manner. However, these sayings naturally arose for a purpose; their content places them in a class by themselves as the Logia. But, so far as trying to determine history or form details from their structure is concerned, Formgeschichte cannot be used as such an instrument.

Then there are miracles, which have no relation to either of the first two forms. In regard to the credibility of miracles, Formgeschichte cannot say, since it is not a tool of historical evaluation. It can state, however, that there is a certain amount of Synoptic material which can be classified as miracles due to its content.

task of making this matter, to discuss the old religion
especially the religious language, and to reach the new
relation to the future. The first is a natural way to
confrontation with the Jewish and Christian religions of
various kinds. But the nature of the relationship,
the number of persons, the form of meeting and manner, the
kind of conclusions, and other things which should not be
early be considered as preliminary, since the subject has
give no time for consideration.

But Jesus and more to be done to a new or better way
ing the old religion. He wanted to show the strength of the
new way as well. In the Christian Church was a new religion,
perhaps, as a new religion, but he was not able to reach in the
different countries which he visited. Consequently, many
of Jesus' and his new religion and the new way of living
to the new is a new religion for living, and in a new and better
manner. In other words, Jesus' new religion is a new religion;
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Jesus, for the new religion is a new religion. It is a new religion.
Jesus' new religion is a new religion. It is a new religion.
Jesus' new religion is a new religion. It is a new religion.
Jesus' new religion is a new religion. It is a new religion.

Then there are others, who have no relation to either
of the first two forms. In regard to the question of
religion, preliminary things are, since it is not a new
of religious education. It can be, however, that there is
a certain amount of religious education with new or Christian
as a religion that is not constant.

The last class of material which can be called Formgeschichte is that which contains narratives, not contained in these first three classifications. Examples of this group are: Peter's Denial of the Lord, Mk. 14-66-72 (parallels); the Murder of John the Baptist, Mk. 6.14-29 (parallels). A careful survey of the first three Gospels will show the scarcity of examples of this last class. Most of the forms, based on content, fall into the first three groups.

When one considers myths one is again confronted with the problem of a historical nature rather than one which belongs to the literary critic. In regard to myths and legends Easton says. "From the historical standpoint questions as to the possible presence of mythical, legendary, cult-legendary, and epiphany elements are wholly legitimate, and they demand an answer. But neither can the questions be asked nor the answers be given from the standpoint of form-criticism." (1)

Consequently, one may say that Formgeschichte can make classifications of broad nature on the basis of content, rather than from structural data. The four obvious classes are (1) Disputes which contain pedagogy as well as controversy, in a dialogue form, between Jesus and the supporters of Judaism; (2) Logia of Jesus which points the way for the followers of the new religion; (3) Miracles; (4) a few Narratives not contained in the first three groups.

(1) The Gospel before the Gospels, p. 64.

Formgeschichte cannot judge the historicity of any of this material, but can only prepare the way for historical criticism; hence, myths and legends, (since their names imply questionable historicity), are not to be considered by Formgeschichte.

An Estimate of Formgeschichte in the Synoptic Gospels.

If one were to confine one's evaluation of Formgeschichte to the literature of the Old Testament, one would secure splendid results of a positive nature. Much of the literature in the Old Testament passed through long periods of folklore and legend, and consequently took on a stereotyped form from the transcription. One would find the Old Testament a more productive field of research for Formgeschichte than the Synoptic Gospels. But in the literature of the former, Formgeschichte would still be subject to the limitations which it confronts in the Synoptic Gospels. However, the greater amount of orally transmitted material, coupled with the fact that a larger amount of time existed before the material of the Old Testament was written down, makes the problem there one of greater moment.

In the Synoptic Gospels, the problem is different due to its size and its sources. Content forms exist in Disputes, Logia, Miracles, and Narratives; there are some forms which relate to Jesus' method; an occasional structural form may be discerned; but, that is all one can conclude regarding the forms from the Formgeschichte method, since it is not a historical tool.

When one talks about being a believer in written documents.

or oral tradition, one is always confronted with the fact that one is both. When one believes, for example, in the written document hypothesis, one still holds to the fact that for a short period of years, or months, oral transmission was in process. Consequently, during this oral tradition period, forms of some kind could arise. However, the farther away the written documents are from the actual happenings or sayings, the greater are the possibilities for forms of some kind to creep into the oral tradition. At the same time, the longer narratives and sayings are transmitted orally, the greater is the possibility of forms existing.

Consequently, the problem of Formgeschichte is a different problem, if the written fragments came into existence about 40 A.D., from the problem which claims written documents first came into existence in 70 A.D.. The orally transmitted material within the first ten years after Jesus' teaching would have had to stand the approval of the inner authoritative group which had heard Jesus. If the material was given only orally for forty years, there would be room for a great deal of interpolating and stereotyping according to later ideas which crept into the thinking of the apostolic Church. Especially would this take place on Gentile soil, which was not in close contact with the original setting of such narratives and sayings as Palestine. Aramaic fragments confine the idea of forms within a period so close after the death of Jesus, that Jesus' own hearers could lend approval to the forms (Disputes, Logia, Miracles, and Narratives), so that the question of their

historicity would not lead one to unhealthy skepticism.

When Bultmann, Dibelius, Albertz, and Bertram have attempted to classify some of Jesus' sayings as coming direct from Him, some arising in the communities, and some being transmitted in essence by the communities, they have passed beyond the boundaries of their method. That is a problem of historical criticism. Furthermore, when they have attempted to make minute structural classifications, they have resorted to a subjective method, since the objective data do not afford a basis for such minute analysis.

Formgeschichte theorists have erred in attempting to become historical critics. The words of Easton give one guidance in one's research in the Synoptic Gospels, "Form-criticism is not historical criticism." (1)

With due regard for Formgeschichte as an approach to the Synoptic Gospels, one may classify the material as the writer of this dissertation has attempted to do in a simple way, realizing that a general form-classification can be made according to content, that some forms point to Jesus' method, and that a few structural forms exist. But an analysis of the material shows that minute structural form-classifications cannot be made from the material which the Gospels offer. It can show us forms in accordance ^{with} the content contained therein. Form-criticism can evaluate form-structure, but it cannot decide its historical worth.

(1) The Gospel before the Gospels, p. 81.

Each of the Four Gospels is a Form-Gospel.

A careful reading, coupled with an intricate study of the text of the four Gospels, reveals that each Gospel in a certain sense is a 'form-Gospel'. The Gospels are written about practically the same situations, the same characters, and the same sayings; yet each is unique, since the Gospel writers were form-writers to a small degree.

The Matthew form is that in which the compiler writes to the Jews, attempting to portray Jesus as the Messiah; Mark, in writing to the Romans, tries to depict Jesus as the Regal Christ, the Son of Man; Luke, approaching the Greeks, talks of Jesus in terms of a Helper, Friend, Saviour; John, writing to all believers at a late date, speaks of Jesus as the One who comes to abide. Mark uses the term "straightway" frequently, causing the events to move in a rapid direct manner. ^{Matthew's} Gospel is carefully divided into sections; he resorts frequently to apocalyptic language. Luke has polished the poor Greek of Mark, so that the former represents a finished piece of Greek composition, while the Second Gospel is full of small, technical errors. John's book is one of reflections, rather than one of historical accuracy.

Consequently, each Gospel does represent a form. But these forms are not equivalent to Formgeschichte, as the German school today defines that term. They do point to the fact, however, that the Gospels were not necessarily air-tight, rigid repetitions of sayings and narratives. Some flexibility of composition was allowed. Hence, each Gospel is a form-story, due to the writers themselves, rather than to popular oral tradition. But, a certain type of Formgeschichte is inherent here.

The Parable Introduction-form in the Second Gospel.

Mark's Gospel contains only a few parables; but they have certain peculiarities which point to an introduction-form that Mark employed. It is the form of the question for introducing the parable. A parallel presentation of the Markian parables, that appear also in Luke and Matthew, will show the novel form used by Mark:

Mark 3.23-30

And he called them unto him, and said unto them in parables, How can Satan cast out Satan? And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand.....

Matthew 12.25-30

And knowing their thoughts he said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation.....

Luke 11.17-23

But he, knowing their thoughts, said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation.....

Mark 4.13-20

And he said unto them, Know ye not this parable? and how shall ye know all the parables? The sower soweth the word.....

Matthew 13.18-23

Hear then ye the parable of the sower.....

Luke 8.11-15

Now the parable is this: The seed is the word of God.

Mark 4.21-25

And he said unto them, Is the lamp brought to be put under the bushel, or under the bed, and not to be put on the stand?

Luke 8.16-18

And no man when he hath lighted a lamp, covereth it with a vessel, or putteth it under a bed.....

Mark 4.30-32

And he said, How shall we liken the kingdom of God? or in what parable shall we set it forth? It is like a grain of mustard seed.....

Matthew 13.31,32

Another parable set he before them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is like unto a grain of mustard seed.....

Luke 13.18,19

He said therefore, Unto what is the kingdom of God like? It is like unto a grain of mustard seed.....

The Second Gospel contains four or five parables (five, if the "Parable of the Sower: Applied to the Field with the Tares," Mark 4.26-29, is to be regarded as separate from the Parable of the Sower). Matthew and Luke have a greater abundance of parables; Mark is a narrative-Gospel, which stops with less frequency for parables and other types of teachings.

However, in four of the parables in Mark, it was seen that the writer initiated the parables with a question; Luke and Matthew, with one exception (Luke 13.18,19), refrain from the question-form altogether. This is also characteristic of the remaining parables of the First and Third Gospels. Consequently, the facts point quite decisively to Mark as the one who solely used such a form.

So far as the problem of Formgeschichte is concerned, the question-form in Mark refers quite directly to Mark instead of oral tradition clothed with forms, since Matthew and Luke do not employ the question form. If all three used the question-form consistently, it might appear that such a form was common in the transmission. But such is not the case.

In all probability, Luke and Matthew had Mark before them when they copied these parables. If form-stories of this nature, passing through oral transmission commonly had the question-form method, it would seem most probable that Matthew and Luke would not detour from the common form-method of the time. So, it is logical to conclude that the question-forms in the parables point directly to the method which the compiler of Mark's Gospel desired to use; these forms are not the result of oral tradition plus stereotyped forms.

The second stage of the process is the selection of the material to be included in the final report. This stage is often the most difficult, as it requires a careful evaluation of the information gathered during the first stage. The selection process should be based on the relevance of the information to the research objectives and the quality of the sources used.

However, it is not enough to simply select the material; it is also necessary to organize it in a logical and coherent manner. This involves identifying the main themes or issues that emerge from the data and arranging the material around these themes. The organization of the report should facilitate the reader's understanding of the research findings and the conclusions drawn from them.

In addition to the selection and organization of the material, it is also important to consider the format and style of the report. The report should be written in a clear and concise manner, using appropriate language and terminology. The format should be consistent throughout, with clear headings and subheadings to guide the reader through the report. The use of tables, figures, and other visual aids can also be helpful in presenting the data and findings.

It is also important to consider the audience for the report. The report should be written in a way that is accessible to the intended audience, whether it be a general public or a specialized group of professionals. The language and terminology used should be appropriate for the audience's level of knowledge and understanding of the subject matter.

Finally, it is important to remember that the report is a living document. It should be updated as new information becomes available and as the understanding of the subject matter evolves. The report should be a reflection of the current state of knowledge on the topic and should be used as a tool for ongoing research and discussion.

Some of the points of appreciation revealed in this chapter are: The outstanding Formgeschichte scholars of Germany, working independently of each other, arrive at a unity of definition; the doublets offer the possibility of a certain type of oral tradition clothed in forms; the Old Testament offers a fruitful field for Formgeschichte, and the method may have crept in to the New Testament field as well; Jesus resorts to a form-procedure in explaining privately to His disciples, after He has proclaimed in public; the person-forms of the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel are quite different; the four Gospels are all different as a whole, each representing a form-Gospel, due to the purpose of its writer; Formgeschichte is better classified from the standpoint of content than from the viewpoint of structure.

It is obvious that certain types of Formgeschichte are discernible in the Synoptic Gospels. There is an occasional fragment that appears formed according to structure; but the majority of the material which catches the eye of form-critics is of a different nature, being of a content character or due to the motive and method of Jesus.

The emphasis should be made, however, that Formgeschichte does exist in the Synoptic Gospels, and that it has an important role to play in the solution of the Synoptic Problem.

CHAPTER FOUR.

A CRITICISM OF FORMGESCHICHTE.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Introductory Remarks Concerning Chapter Four.

Four scholars of Germany, - Bultmann, Dibelius, Albertz, and Bertram, - have attempted more thoroughly to project the theory of Formgeschichte than any other individuals. Others line themselves with Formgeschichte; but their positions take on characteristics of these four exponents. Consequently, a criticism of these four men will in a broad way encircle a criticism of Formgeschichte.

The criticism in this chapter will take on a negative aspect, rather than assuming one of positive evaluation. Such a procedure here does not mean that Formgeschichte is without value; on the contrary, a former chapter showed that there is much to appreciate in certain types of Formgeschichte. The same is true in regard to the positions assumed by these German scholars.

This chapter will attempt to display whatever weaknesses Formgeschichte may have, especially trying to show that the exponents of Formgeschichte have, in their desire to propound a theory, resorted to an attitude of arbitrariness and subjectivism.

The method of these critics has been that of determining forms ~~through~~ structure, by a process of comparison of various species in the text. Therefore, the criticism of their procedure will also need to entail minute criticisms and comparisons of the material in the text, which they classify as forms.

There is a great deal of material in this book which is not only interesting but also very valuable. It is a book which should be read by every one who is interested in the history of the United States. The book is written in a clear and concise style and is well illustrated. It is a book which is well worth the price.

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Criticism of Rudolf Bultmann's View.

As a prologue to a criticism of Rudolf Bultmann, several quotations from American scholars may be given. W. E. Bundy makes several references to Bultmann and Formgeschichte. He says in reference to Bultmann's statements, "Frankly I am of the opinion that we know practically nothing of the life and personality of Jesus. Our Christian sources, fragmentary and overgrown with legend as they are, were not interested in such," (1) and "What these sources offer is first of all the message of the early Christian community," (2) that, "It is true, as Bultmann says, that we can not write a 'life of Jesus'. Every serious student knows that we do not possess the necessary materials. The whole body of facts from the life of Jesus is communicated to us through a fervent faith. But the complete skepticism of Wellhausen and Bultmann we cannot share." (3)

M. S. Enslin makes this remark regarding Formgeschichte, which has particular reference to Bultmann's view. "Accordingly, the significant question for the form-historian is: What is the relation of this incident or saying to the life of the community that framed it? This phase of investigation is highly important and has already lead to real results, but because of its value it is extremely liable to become one-sided. It may easily tend to mean, whatever is seen to have been of value to

(1) Jesus, p. 12; (2) Ibid., p. 15;

(3) Our Recovery of Jesus, p. 102.

Criticism of Emilie Soltau's View

As a response to a criticism of Emilie Soltau, several
questions from American scholars may be given. It is
true that several references to Soltau and Frederick
are, in reference to Soltau's statement, "I am not
the opinion that we have previously written of the life and
personality of Jesus. Our Christian sources, however, and
overcome with regard to their age, were not interested in
him." (1) It is true that these sources were in fact of all the
sources of the early Christian community. (2) That is
true, as Soltau says, that we are not with a "life of Jesus".
They would not have known that we do not know the necessary
material. The whole body of facts from the life of Jesus
is summarized in his famous "Gospel of John". But the con-
fession of Soltau of "Frederick" and Soltau we cannot share. (3)
W. J. Soltau's view is that, according to Frederick
which has previously referred to Soltau's view. "Accordingly,
the Christian's position for the late historical fact that is
the relation of this legend or saying to the life of the person
it that formed it? This question of investigation is clearly
important and has already been in fact decided, but perhaps
at its value it is extremely likely to become one-sided. It may
easily lead to error, whether it be in favor of value for

(1) Jesus, p. 101; (2) ibid., p. 101;
(3) Our Knowledge of Jesus, p. 101.

the early Church they produced. It is not only conceivable but demonstrable that the framers of our Gospels--and their sources as well--selected the material which they felt would be of value for the purposes in hand and often freely revamped and altered it to make it more acceptable." (1)

1. Vigorous use of Formgeschichte and vigorous employment of Formgeschichte method is likely to lead to ^{unhealthy} skepticism.

Both of these views tend to observe a certain kind of worth which Bultmann is obtaining in his method; yet, both in a different manner sense the ultimate outcome. Bultmann himself has said that his method should not involve one in a state of skepticism, but should tend to give one a more true and comprehensive picture of the personality of Jesus. Yet, most critics with whom the writer has talked, or whose criticisms he has read, are of the opinion that the employment of Formgeschichte, coupled with the arduous use of the Religionsgeschichtemethode as Bultmann utilizes it, will lead gradually to skepticism. Bultmann accepts and rejects passages which are put into the mouth of Jesus with such freedom, that one questions his authority, and wonders at his presumptions of forms.

Bultmann is a follower of the "History of Religion School", and he links up his Formgeschichte method with the former. "Formgeschichte", he says, "starts from the observed fact that all literary presentations, particularly in primitive

(1) "An Additional Step toward the Understanding of Jesus," Journal of Religion, July, 1929, IX. 3.

The early Church they considered. It is not only apostolic but
democratic in fact the members of our Church--and their persons
as well--accepted the material which they felt was of
value for the purposes in hand and often freely conveyed and
altered it to make it more acceptable. (1)

I. Wittmann was of German descent and a native speaker
of German/who moved to Italy in 1880 to establish
Both of these views tend to obscure a certain kind of
work which Wittmann is obtaining in his work; yet, both
in a different manner regard the whole subject. Wittmann
himself has said that his method would not involve one in
a state of speculation, but should lead to a more
true and comprehensive picture of the personality of Jesus.
Yet, most striking when the writer has failed, as shown
criticism as has been. One of the writers who has criti-
cized of Wittmann's, treated with the evidence and of the
Religionsgeschichtliche Zeitschrift in 1911.
less actually to speculate. Wittmann accepted and rejected pro-
cesses which are not into the mouth of Jesus with such freedom.
That one questions his authority, and works at his pre-
sented of form.

Wittmann is a follower of the "History of Religion
School", and he links up his Religionsgeschichtliche method with the
former. "Wittmann's", he says, "starts from the objective
fact that all literary representation, particularly in religious

(1) "An Additional Note toward the Understanding of Jesus,"
Journal of Religion, July, 1920, IX, 2.

culture, and in the ancient world, follow relatively fixed forms. (E. g., in oral tradition, written narratives, folk tales, proverbs)." (1)

Yet he makes this statement, "Freilich bleibt es in manchen einzelnen Fällen unsicher, was von der Gemeinde stammt, was von Jesus. Aber das wird man nicht bezweifeln können, dass die wichtigsten Worte, die den radikalen Gehorsam unter Gottes Willen fordern, auf Jesus zurückgehen." (2)

One observes two impressive things here. First, if Formgeschichte was contained in much of the primitive folklore, and transmitted by oral tradition to the stage where it was finally written down, what parallel has this with the Synoptic Problem, when the fact seems quite universally agreed that written documents were behind the first three Gospels? Secondly, Bultmann has little authority ^{WHICH TO DETERMINE} ~~with~~ that some of the sayings of Jesus go back to the community, while other statements are direct from Jesus?

2. Unliterate men like the disciples would not have originated literary forms.

K. L. Schmidt gives a helping hand to Bultman, when he classifies literature into Kleinliteratur and Hochliteratur, and states that Matthew, Mark, and Luke belong to the former class. To illustrate his point he says in one case, "So muss geurteilt werden, wenn die Evangelien mit den Memorabilien Xenophons, dem Urbild dieser Gattung und ihrem allein vollständig erhaltenen Beispiel, zusammengebracht

(1) Journal of Religion, July, 1926, p. 343 f.;

(2) Jesus, p. 116.

werden. Da steht Kleinliteratur gegen Hochliteratur." (1)

He says that the first three Gospels are kultische Volksbücher, or volkstümliche Kultbücher.

The weakness of the viewpoint held by Bultmann and Schmidt in this respect is that the literature of the New Testament does not ^{attempt} to hold the same place with the literature of a classical nature which writers such as Xenophon or Socrates have given to us. Jesus was not a writer himself, nor did He deal in high-sounding phrases nor color His words with the skill of an artist. He was a preacher and teacher, telling men and women about the Kingdom of God, using parables and other tools of expression, so that He could be understood by all men. It was not His method to talk so that the record of what He said might be on the same level as that of Hochliteratur. Nor were those who made fragmentary records of what He had said highly educated men; they were men of the sea and the custom room and the market rather than men of the halls of learning. They were men who were interested in the great religious truths which Jesus had uttered; they were concerned about the deeds which He had done; so, they made note of these things because beauty and truth lay within them.

If these men were unlearned men, it is only to be

(1) Die Stellung der Evangelien in der allgem. Literaturgeschichte, p. 59.

supposed that the Gospel records which we have are about as close to the original as one could expect, since the compilers would not have polished or revamped the sayings of Jesus in order that they would become a "best seller".

The forms found in folklore and primitive stories may have been real forms, because they passed from mouth to mouth and took on certain rigidity. But they were legends and tales, not wrapped around a historical person. One knows tales one has heard; many begin, "Once upon a time...", and end, "And they all lived happily ever after...". But even callow students know that these are legends or fairytales, not records about a historical person and historical events. Hence, the parallel does not hold. There seems to be no necessity to force such a parallel.

3. The Second Gospel points to written sources.

Most of Bultmann's closest work has been done with the Gospel of Mark, wherein he finds many forms. Yet, in this very Gospel the pendulum of probability swings almost decisively to the side of Mark and Peter and Aramaic fragments lying behind that Gospel. C. G. Montefiore, in sympathy with Formgeschichte to a certain degree, has made this statement, "The detailed and elaborate work of Bultmann in this connection (regarding Mark and Q) seems little known or appreciated so far (1926) in England, but his investigations, like those of his fellow Formgeschichtlicher, are ultimately found to have their effect. We shall no longer be able to

supposed that the social sciences were the only ones

close to the physical sciences, and that the social

sciences were the only ones that could be called

in order that they would become a "social science".

The first thing in this line was the social sciences

have been real things, because they cannot be called so easily

and took on certain rights. But they were not

called, and stopped around a historical person. The word

only one has been; many others, "they have a right..." and

one, "and they all lived together ever after..." and with

arbitrary that there are legends on the subject, and

about of historical person and historical events. Hence, the

historical does not exist. There seems to be no necessity to

force such a belief.

2. The second reason seems to be the

fact of the social sciences were the only ones with the

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say: 'From Q or Mark; therefore early; therefore authentic.' The laws or methods by which sayings were collected, added or grouped together, and attributed to Jesus will have to be considered: the sayings which are probably due to the community will have to be more carefully separated from those which are probably due to himself; others may have to be regarded as even older than Jesus, but ascribed to him, or given a Christian adoption." (1)

Although Montefiore is most sympathetic in his Jewish approach to the person of Jesus, he would naturally find certain value in Bultmann's approach due to its natural linkage with Judaism and the early Jewish community. But this same scholar says, also, "So far as we know...Mark is not only the oldest Gospel, but the first Gospel. There were sources behind him, even written sources, but no continuous Gospel." (2) He holds that Mark never was an Aramaic Gospel, but that certain written Aramaic sources lay behind the Second Gospel.

The touch of interest which Montefiore has added in his criticism here, is that both of these two scholars of the Religionsgeschichteschule see the derivation of the forms coming from former literature and the Jewish community, while Dibelius views the forms as taking shape on Gentile soil in the early missionary preaching.

One of these views must be incorrect. If forms were developed, it would be more reasonable to accept the view

(1) The Synoptic Gospels, p. lvii; (2) Ibid., p. xxvii.

of Dibelius, because the early preaching on Jewish soil would not have passed through a period of time ample enough for forms to take structure before some notations would have been made. Montefiore, a Jew, and familiar with Jewish methods of notation, makes the presumption that there were early Aramaic sources behind Mark. If there were such fragmentary Aramaic sources, and they naturally had their origin on Jewish soil, undoubtedly near Jerusalem, they would have been made by the disciples of Jesus. When one considers that Peter was one of this group, and that he was the source behind Mark's Gospel, one sees clearly the lack of probability that any forms were resorted to, since Peter knew the facts; furthermore, the early notations in Aramaic were made before forms would have had an opportunity to arise. Hence, Bultmann's approach in general meets stubborn resistance in the fact that probability points to early Aramaic written fragments.

4. Bultmann classifies the authority of Jesus' sayings by a subjective process.

Bultmann makes a large presumption, when he attempts to classify the sayings of Jesus according to their origin (with Jesus and their origin in the community. It is of interest to compare his Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition (1921) with his Jesus (1926), and note that some of the sayings of the former which he rejected as Jesus' words, he has allowed to come from the mouth of Jesus in the work five years later.

Bultmann is more finely analytical than Dibelius, even making analyses of half-sentences; he is also more skeptical.

According to him, Jesus was a rabbi of the highest degree, but One who had no idea at any time that He was the Messiah. Differing from Dibelius, Bultmann does not assert that the apothegms, (called paradigms by Dibelius), were used in early Gentile mission preaching; instead they were used to settle some controversial situation, or invented for a teaching purpose, or employed to keep Jesus before the minds of the people. These apothegms were enlarged and changed. Regarding them, he says, "One must constantly deal with a creative power of the controversial form, with (2) a constantly increasing desire of the Church to clothe the words of the Lord in the terminology of a dispute." (1) The historicity of the disputes is so questionable that only two of the twenty (Luke 13.31-33 and Mark 14.3-9) are accepted by Bultmann as historically authentic.

Bultmann says in one place that the source of his material is "die Verkündigung der Gemeinde, die sie freilich zum grössten Teil auf Jesus zurückführt...Deshalb gehen aber nicht alle Worte auf Jesus zurück. Bei vielen Worten lässt sich der Nachweis führen, dass sie vielmehr erst in der Gemeinde entstanden sind, bei anderen, dass sie von der Gemeinde bearbeitet sind." (3) Furthermore, he says, "Alles, was in den Synoptikern aus sprachlichen oder sachlichen Gründen nur im hellenistischen Christentum entstanden sein kann, scheidet deshalb als Quelle für die Verkündigung Jesu aus"...., and the reason is, "Jesus und die älteste Gemeinde in Palästina ihren Platz hatten und aramäisch sprachen." (4)

(1) The New Approach to the Synoptic Problem, p. 35;

(2) Underlining belongs to the writer of this thesis, for the sake of emphasis;

(3) Jesus, p. 15;

(4) Jesus, p. 16.

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Bultmann's position and method of approach here are indeed very arbitrary. One cannot apply textual criticism in the Synoptic Gospels to the degree which will permit us to say, "Jesus said this and that actually; this sentence the community worked over into the utterance as it is now written down, although Jesus once said something like this himself; but, this saying was the product of the community, not having its origin in Jesus at all?" If such is to be the method of criticism, and one listens to the results of the scholars who employ such a procedure, the Synoptic Gospels are in a hazardous position of being reduced to nothing before very long.

Textual criticism is necessary, if one is to be fair to the truth; but the scholars should be fair to the texts in their criticism, rather than resorting to personal opinions, detached from the text. The earth looks flat to one, but the scientific text says it is round; so one listens to the truth which the text tells. One feels as though Bultmann has not always done this.

Bultmann believes his position concerning Formgeschichte is strengthened, since so many of Jesus' sayings have parallels in other literature. Ludwig Koehler has criticized him for such an attitude, "Dazu ist grundsätzlich zu bemerken...dass nichts so unvergleichbar ist wie kurze Sprüche. Schon die heute im Schwange befindlichen deutschen Sprichwörter sind uns ihrem Sinne nach, das heisst nicht dem Sinn nach, den wir ihnen im Gebrauche geben, sondern dem Sinne nach, den sie dem Wortlaute nach haben, undurchsichtig. Wer sich nun in den

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"...and... the..."

...the... as it is...

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Sprüchen anderer Literaturen umtut, stösst überall auf Seitengänger, auf wirkliche und auf vermeintliche, und ich weiss nicht, welche mehr Verwunderung erregen. Aber sobald man die Erklärung eines, sagen wir schwedischen, Sprichwortes durch ein spanisches oder italienischen durch ein persisches ernstlich unternimmt, wozu die Versuchung auf den ersten Blick gross ist, wird man stutzig. Wie kann man zwei Grössen vergleichen, die beide unbestimmt sind?" (1)

Again, Koehler says in regard to Bultmann's holding of some passages as unhistorical, "Sie kann geschichtlich sein, und deshalb glaube ich sie für geschichtlich halten zu sollen. Denn ich müsste Gründe haben, um das nicht zu tun, und ich habe keine Gründe dieser Art, finde auch keine bei Dibelius und Bultmann." (2)

5. An analytic criticism of Bultmann's attitude toward miracles.

If one observes the various classifications which Bultmann makes in his Formgeschichte Theorie, he finds the various classes: Miracles, Legends, Apophthegmata, and the Words of Jesus. This last group of sayings are divided into Wisdom Sayings, Prophetic and Apocalyptic Utterings, Words of the Law, and Rules of the Community. A brief criticism of each of these will tend to show wherein Bultmann's view is lacking in stability or is erroneous.

In the case of miracles, (such as found in Mark 5.3-5,

(1) Das formgeschichtliche Problem..., p. 21;

(2) Ibid., p. 36.

5.25 ff., 9.12, 5.41, 7.34, 2.11 f.), one finds, according to Bultmann, various characteristics such as the use of a foreign word, talitha cumi and ephata; the duration of the sickness is mentioned; there is a report of the miraculous healing; there may be the laying on of hands; or someone who is healed is not to be seen by anyone else, as the healing must be kept a secret. Then, there often appear testifiers of the miracle who are astonished, or give away to applause, or the healed one gives a demonstration.

One is able to find all of these things which Bultmann mentions. But, as one reads the various accounts of the miracles, and tries to read them, so that he will find the so-called forms there, one is very disappointed. One is aware that certain descriptions are given, which are similar to those mentioned by Bultmann, but one is also aware that they are bits of description, rather than set forms.

If one reads any group of descriptions, one will find many of these common characteristics. It is natural to mention the duration of the sickness, the manner in which the healing is performed, and the attitude of the crowd. What else could the recorder of this incident do, except to mention the ordinary things which would naturally happen? But one is greatly impressed in these miracle stories that there is such a variety of style in recording the incidents. The cures were accomplished so differently; the crowds responded in various ways to the cures. In considering the situations in which Jesus asks the cured person to remain silent, or in which He takes the

afflicted one to some secretive place where no one, or just the immediate friends, are located, one can see the naturalness of doing this in light of the purpose and character of Jesus.

Indeed, one is so impressed with the unique, novel manner in which the stories differ, that one is surprised that any one should have called them form-stories. They appear more like incidents witnessed and recorded casually by an observer.

Let us observe some of the miracles in Mark's Gospel and analyze them for the set purpose of showing that they do not have similarities which would brand them as forms. The introductory marks of the various miracles are: Mark 1.21-23, "And they went into Capernaum; and straightway on the sabbath day he entered into the synagogue and taught, And they were astonished at his doctrine; for he taught them as one that had authority, and not as the scribes. And there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit, and he cried out."

1.29-31, "And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John. But Simon's wife's mother lay sick of a fever, and anon, they tell him of her. And he came and took her up by the hand..."

1.32, "And at even, when the sun did set, they brought unto him all that were diseased..."

1.40, "And there came a leper to him, beseeching him, and saying unto him...."

2.3, "And they come unto him, bringing one sick of palsy..."

3.1, "And he entered again into the synagogue; and there was a man there which had a withered hand..."

3.35, "And the same day, when the even was come, he saith

unto them, Let us pass ~~over~~ unto the other side..."

5.21, "And when Jesus was passed over again unto the other side, much people gathered unto him: ..."

6.34, "And Jesus, when he came out, saw much people, and was moved with compassion toward them..."

7.24, "And from thence he arose, and went into the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and entered into an house, and would have no man know it; but he could not be hid..."

7.32, "And they bring unto him one that was deaf..."

8.22, "And he cometh to Bethsaida; and they bring a blind man unto him, and besought him to touch him..."

10.46, "And they went to Jericho; and as he went out of Jericho with his disciples and a great number of people, blind Bartimaeus, the son of Timaeus, sat by the highway begging..."

It is significant that the introductory remarks in these miracles of Mark's Gospel are diverse in nature. One also notices various kinds of cures: 1.25. "And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him..."; 1.31. "And he came and took her hand, and lifted her up, and immediately the fever left her..."; 1.34. "and he healed many that were sick of divers diseases..."; 1.41, "And Jesus, moved with compassion, put forth his hand, and touched him, and saith unto him, I will; be thou clean.."; 2.5, "When Jesus saw their faith, he said unto the sick of the palsy, Son thy sins be forgiven thee..."; 3.3, "And he saith unto the man which had the withered hand, Stand forth..."; 4.39, "And he arose, and rebuked the wind and said unto the sea, Peace, be still...";

note them, but he passed over and the other side...

2.22. "And when he had passed over again into the

other side, when he came out, saw many people, and

2.23. "And Jesus, when he came out, saw many people, and

was moved with compassion toward them..."

2.24. "And thus Jesus he began, and went into the cities

of Tyre and Sidon, and entered into a house, and would have no

man know it; but he could not be hid..."

2.25. "And when he was come into his own house, he said..."

2.26. "And he came to Nazareth; and when he was sitting in the

synagogue, he began to teach them..."

2.27. "And they were astonished at his teaching; and he said unto

them, saying, 'And thou art a prophet, and thou shalt say in the

synagogue, 'The son of Joseph, say ye me nothing more...'"

It is remarkable that the evangelists mention in these

chapters of Jesus's teaching and miracles in Nazareth. But also

noticed various kinds of cures: 2.28. "And Jesus returned

him, saying, 'Hold thy peace, and come out of this...' 2.29.

"And he came and took her hand, and lifted her up, and immediately

the fever left her..." 2.30. "And he healed many that were

sick of diverse diseases..." 2.31. "And Jesus, moved with com-

passion, put forth his hand, and touched him, and said unto

him, 'I will; be thou clean...' 2.32. "When Jesus saw their faith,

he said unto the sick of the palsy, 'Son, thy sins be forgiven

thee...' 2.33. "And he said unto the man which was the witness

made, 'Stand up, take up thy bed, and walk...' 2.34. "And he arose, and took up the bed

and came into the house, and he said, 'He will...' 2.35.

7.29, "For this saying go thy way; the devil is gone out of thy daughter."

Again one is impressed by the differences which one finds in these various methods of healing and the way in which they are related. The text does not give one the least hint of forms. The same holds true in the conclusions, especially in regard to the manner the miracles are received. Naturally, where a crowd is gathered together there would be amazement or applause; such would be the expected outcome. But there is not always a crowd present; and the reception by those present varies in its characteristics both as to the final words and attitude of Jesus and in the attitude and words of the people present. One finds it very difficult to discern forms of a structural nature in the miracles.

6. Bultmann has taken too great authority in calling certain incidents legends, as well as considering them as forms.

The second group considered by Bultmann is that of legends. The group includes the Baptism Story, the Temptations, the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Passion, the Resurrection, Peter's recognition of Jesus as the Messiah, and the stories in Luke and Matthew which precede the coming of John the Baptist.

The Passion Story has been criticized in the treatment of Bertram; it does not need repetition here. The Baptism and Temptation stories are so close in kind and nature that they can be treated together. Without doubt, they were related by Jesus himself to the disciples after Peter's confession at

It is not a law of nature, but a law of man.

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Caesarea Philippi. It is especially interesting to note throughout these so-called "legends" that Peter is in the midst of practically all of them, after he has joined the Twelve. Peter's presence here, coupled with the fact that tradition designates Peter as the important source behind the Second Gospel, point strongly to these scenes as real rather than legendary.

If one is skeptical about the historicity of the Baptism Story and the Temptation Story, one has first of all his text before him. There are the facts, with nothing to disprove them. Then one has the psychological fact that Jesus revealed much to His disciples. One has also the results of scholars, most of whom hold these events as historical.

A notation of scholarly opinion regarding the historicity of the temptations will help to confirm this last point. Here are some views of various modern scholars:

Allen-First temptation, was "to put consciousness of divine sonship to rest;" (1) second temptation, "to put God to test;" (2) third temptation, "to grasp at once and by one act the Messianic sovereignty of the world." (3)

Berguer-1. "To use his own energies first to satisfy his own life and his own needs"; (4) 2. "to fanaticism"; (5) 3. "to make concessions, reckon with the leaders' opinions and people of importance, to submit to easy compromises of conscience" (6).

Commentary on Matthew, (1) p.32; (2) p.33; (3) p.33;
Some Aspects..... (4) p.172; (5) p.174; (6) p.176;

Bruce-1. "To use his miraculous powers in his own behalf";
 (1) 2. "to recklessly escape from desperate situations"; (2)
 3. "to establish a universal Messianic kingdom through concilia-
 tion with his enemies". (3)

Gilbert-1. "To doubt the spiritual assurance that had been
 given to him in the hour of His Baptism;" (4) 2. "to prove His
 Messiahship by some act which would call out the promised aid
 of God"; (5) 3. "to fall in with the popular idea of the
 Messianic Kingdom". (6)

Headlam-1. To secure material comfort for himself and all
 the world; (7) 2. to do something startling and wonderful to
 draw all men to himself; (8) 3. to fulfill the highest hopes of
 his countrymen for a Messiah. (9)

Holtzmann-1. That the Messiah should not endure hunger; (10)
 2. that the Messiah must perform some great miracle as a sign;
 (11) 3. that the Messiah must reach out after the sovereignty of
 the world. (12)

Kent-1. To cater to the natural desire for ease and quiet
 and popularity; (13) 2. to give men the sign that he was the
 Messiah and gain immediate following; (14) 3. "to lay aside
 for the moment those severe, seemingly impossible spiritual
 ideals that in time transformed the natural leaders of his
 race into enemies, and thus by a special compromise broaden his
 field of service". (15)

Klausner-1. To bestow material welfare upon his people;
 (16) 2. to become a mighty lawgiver; (17) 3. to lead a rebellion
 against the Romans. (18)

The Training of the Twelve, (1) p.89; (2) p.90; (3) pp.90,91;
Life of Jesus, (4) p.63; (5) p.64; (6) p.65;
Life of Jesus, (7) p.292; (8) p.292; (9) p.292; Life of Jesus,
 (10), (11), (12) p.145; Life and Teachings, (13) p.67; (14) p.68;
 (15) p.68; Jesus of Nazareth, (16) p.254; (17) p.253; (18) p.253.

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Plummer-1. To prove his Messiahship by working a miracle;
 (1) 2. to prove his Messiahship by imperilling himself and
 having God save him; (2) 3. to compromise with the evil he had
 come to destroy and work for a temporal supremacy. (3)

Rhees-1. To use his powers for his own needs; (4) 2. to
 press forward regardless of danger; (5) 3. to be disloyal to
 God by compromising with evil. (6)

Robinson-1. "To use his own powers for his own material
 needs"; (7) 2. to be extravagant with the use of miracle; (8)
 3. to compromise, to take a short cut to the attainment of an
 ideal, become a worldly Messiah. (9)

Simkhovitch-1. To lead his people to maintain a kind of
 half-way position toward Rome, merely living by bread alone;
 (10) 2. to hurl himself zealot-like against the power of Rome;
 (11) 3. to advocate a policy of acquiescence to Rome, allowing
 its culture and government to be absorbed. (12)

Smith-1. To be a selfish Messiah; (13) 2. to be a
 spectacular Messiah; (14) 5. to be a worldly Messiah. (15)

Weiss-1. To challenge his miraculous powers and in event
 they did not come, to make him doubtful of his call; (16)
 2. to call upon God in times of danger to bear himself instead
 of resorting to human providence; (17) 3. to be a worldly
 Messiah as his people wanted. (18)

Wendt-1. To believe that the Messiah must have earthly

Gospel according to St. Matthew, (1) p.40; (2) pp.40,41;
 (3) pp.40,41; The Life of Jesus of Nazareth, (4), (5) p.88;
 (6) p.89; Study of the Gospels, (7) p.20; (8) p.20; (9) p.21;
 Toward an Understanding..., (10), (11), (12) p.47; Days of His
 Flesh, (13) p.40; (14) p.39; (15) p.35; Commentary on the New
 Testament, Vol.I, (16) p.344; (17) p.346; (18) p.347.

means at his disposal; (1) 2. "to make the assurance of his Messiahship depend on proving the miraculous assistance of God"; (2) 3. to establish an earthly sovereignty. (3)

The references made above have covered scholars of diverse approaches. But what is the result? Does one say anything about the legendary nature of the Temptations? They all view them as real, as part of Jesus' prologue to his actual ministry. As one scans scholar by scholar, one will find that practically every one sees the Temptation incident as historically real; the question lies in the method of interpretation rather than in the fact of historicity. In the face of scholarship Bultmann is quite alone in his attempt to make these instances legends. Even the other Formgeschichte scholars cannot agree with him in their classifications. Furthermore, legends of primitive tradition and folklore attached to mythical characters are not to be considered in relation to the incidents which have a close relation to an historical figure. So far as the Baptism and Temptation scenes are concerned, Jesus himself was the source behind them; Peter in the inner group probably handed down the material to Mark, who compiled it with his other incidents and sayings into the Second Gospel. Peter was also a ^{participant} of the Transfiguration and the Entry into Jerusalem, as well as the Confession at Caesarea Philippi; and he gave his notations, mental and written, in a fragmentary manner to Mark.

When one deals with the material in Luke and Matthew,

again at his disposal; (2) 3. "to take the substance of his

statements based on review the original statements of

God; (3) 3. to establish an earlier statement; (4)

The references made above have covered subjects of interest

concerning. But what is the result? I am now very satisfied

about the legendary nature of the traditions. They all show

them as real, as facts of life, products of his actual mind.

As one knows nothing by accident, one will find that practically

every one sees the tradition limited as historically real;

the question lies in the method of interpretation rather than

in the fact of historicity. In the case of religious

traditions is quite alone in his attempt to make these instances

historic. Even the most historical would not admit of

with him in their originality. The tradition, however, is

relative tradition and follows a certain pattern of

are not to be considered in relation to the historical which

have a close relation to an historical figure. As far as the

action and tradition which are concerned, I am pleased

was the same before that; later in the form of a tradition

passed down the material to him, and finally it with the

other incidents and names into the legend form. Later on

also ^{the} ~~the~~ of the tradition and the story into

tradition, as well as the tradition of the tradition.

and he was the tradition, which was written, as a fact

entirely known to him.

Then one deals with the material in fact and method.

one is confronted with an entirely different type of scene.

What can be done with the Birth stories, the stories regarding the lineage, the coming of the wise men and the shepherds?

This has long been a battle ground of controversy. Undoubtedly there is a possibility of legend here.

One is faced with two alternatives regarding the Birth Story. Either it was told by Mary or Joseph in later years to Jesus or to others; or it is a legend. The silence of the New Testament regarding the Birth narrative tells us nothing except that, if the Birth were of a miraculous nature, the writers of the New Testament did not stress its importance. One would assume that the Birth Story was not well known at an early date or it would have been mentioned occasionally.

If Mark knew of it, he did not mention it in his Gospel. If Peter had known about it, it seems that it would have been important enough to mention to Mark; and Mark would consequently have embodied it in his Gospel. However, there is complete silence in Mark's Gospel. It does seem that Jesus, before his Death, and after the Confession at Caesarea Philippi, would have made mention of this miraculous birth in the inner group, and that Peter would have told Mark about it later. But instead, there is silence. When one considers the reliable sources behind the Gospel of Mark, one is at once driven to look upon the Birth narrative as some sort of a legend that just grew up, as ordinary legends usually do. The vast majority of scholars do not attribute the birth narrative to Q; it was

one is characterized by an extremely different type of music.
That can be seen with the first series. The second series
the first, the second of the first and the second
This has been a matter of some interest. Indeed, it
there is a possibility of being here.
One is faced with two alternatives regarding the third series.
Either it was told by Mary or Joseph in later years to some of
to ensure; or it is a legend. The second of the two
revelation for this narrative which is another story. It
the fifth were of a somewhat nature, the second of the two
The second did not occur in the first. The third series that
the third story was not known at an early date or it may
have been mentioned occasionally.
It is true that the third series is in the Gospel.
It is true that the third series is in the Gospel.
important reason for being in the Gospel; and that is the
have occurred in the Gospel. However, there is something
aligns the third Gospel. It does seem that there are
third, and after the Gospel of Matthew (23:1-12), which
have been added to the Gospel of Matthew in the third series,
and that the third series would have been added in later years.
Indeed, there is a possibility. Then one considers the possibility
Matthew added the Gospel of Mark, one is at once led to
look upon the third narrative as some sort of a legend that
just grew up, as another legend usually do. The third series
of legends do not attribute the third narrative to G; it was

a part of some other group of writings, which became known at a late date. Perchance the Birth Story took on weight between Mark's compilation and the writing of Matthew or Luke.

Drews attempts to parallel the Birth narrative of Jesus with other peculiar births. He says, "There is no doubt that we have before us in the Vedic Agni-cult the original source of all the stories of the birth of the fire-gods and sun-gods. These gods usually enter life in darkness and concealment. Thus the Cretan Zeus was born in a cavern, Mithras, Dionysus, and Hermes in a gloomy grotto, Horus in the stable of the holy cow (Isis). Jesus, too, was born at dead of night in a lowly stable at Bethlehem. The original ground for this consists in the fact that Agni, in the form of a spark, comes into existence in the dark hollow of the hole bored in the fire stick. The hymns of the Rig-Veda often speak of the 'secret birth' and the concealment of the Agni. They describe the gods as they set out in order to seek the infant. They make the Angiras discover it lying in concealment, and it grows up in hiding (see Rig-Veda 1,72,2; V,11,6,etc.). But the idea of a fire-god being born in a stable is also foreshadowed in the Rig-Veda." (1) "The metaphorical name of stable for the place of sacrifice attains a new significance from the fact that the sun, during a certain epoch of the world (something between 3000 and 800 B.C.), at the beginning of spring passed through the constellation of the Bull and at the time of the winter solstice commenced its course between the Ox (Bull) and the

Drews, The Christ Myth, (1) pp. 100, 102.

Great Bear, which anciently was also called the Ass. The birth of the god is said to have been in secret because it took place at night. His mother is a virgin, since at midnight of the winter solstice the constellation of the Virgin is on the eastern horizon." (1)

Drews may find some basis for seeking a parallel, but one must admit that it is rather an exaggeration to make very close comparisons here. It may be presupposed that, if the birth narrative is a legend, the source behind such a legend had knowledge of some kind of virgin birth narratives, such as the birth of Agni, the birth of Guatama, the birth of Krishna, or the birth of Saoshyant, and may have found suggestions for the Christ story. Yet, as far as parallelisms are to be considered, they do not exist in any easy manner; facts **must** be stretched to see similarities. But it is fair to assume that kernels of suggestion may have been derived from the existing birth legends.

One must, however, be cautious in being dogmatic regarding the legendary nature of the Birth Story, because there is always a possibility that Mary may have told Jesus, or someone else later, about its actuality. (2) The chances are in this case, that Mary would have made such a fact known after Jesus' death, since seemingly He has not mentioned it to His inner group. Yet, even if Mary told it after His death, why does not Peter mention it to Mark? It does seem fair in the face of all data to say that the Birth narrative savors of legend.

(1) Drews, The Christ Myth, (2) p. 102.

(2) The problem of miracle is not discussed here, because such a discussion would entail a thesis in itself. The problem of this dissertation is one of Formgeschichte, and a discussion necessary for the deciding of the miracle controversy would be a diversion, leading away from the intention of the dissertation. Hence, silence upon this point will exist here.

However, if the Birth narrative be called a legend--considering, also, that all the other so-called "legends" of Bultmann, which have been mentioned, are believed by this writer to be historically trustworthy, for the reasons stated,--one is at a loss to say that the legend of the Birth can be considered a form. In the first place, one legend in itself has no basis for being designated as form, since form must have several species which will allow for comparison. Furthermore, as the discussion of Bertram's view shows more thoroughly, legends have no place in the problem of Formgeschichte. Consequently, Bultmann's attempt to place legends in his discussion of Formgeschichte meets stiff opposition.

7. Apophthegmata do not have structural form.

When one considers the Apophthegmata of Bultmann (called Paradigmata by Dibelius, and some of them Streitgespräche by Albertz) one is confronted with the same kind of textual analysis that was considered in the miracles. (1) A comparison of the species shows such a variety of "forms", that one is driven to say that here again Bultmann has been too arbitrary in the derivation of his results. When Fascher summarizes the kinds of Apophthegmata,--as possibly being genuine sayings, formulated by the community, formed out of a Logion, enlarged speeches, or a Palestinian kernel in a Hellenistic covering,--one sees the large number of possibilities which the Apophthegmata have in being different. Also, the various methods of development are so numerous; sometimes, the question is

(1) See discussion of Dibelius' Paradigmata for a more analytical discussion of the examples, which have the same relation to Bultmann's Apophthegmata.

raised by a scribe or a disciple, as the result of an act of Jesus; or the attitude of a disciple may cause a question to be raised by one of the scribes or Pharisees. Sometimes Jesus answers with a question, and sometimes with a group of statements. Sometimes the disciples do the explaining. Certainly, Bultmann's keen analysis reveals a variety of ways in which these various Apophthegmata occur. Again one asks oneself the question, "Wherein does a scholar see enough similarity in these examples, so that he is able to assert that stereotyped forms exist?" One, in fact, is driven to the opposite view; namely, that structural forms do not exist there, but that uniqueness of the various species exists.

Bultmann has carefully divided the Apophthegmata into Logia, prophetic and apocalyptic sayings, legalistic sayings, first person sayings of Jesus, and parables. In this last group he follows Jülicher's analysis fully, although he is even more rigid than his Marburg predecessor. He sees that one parable has been the cause of another of a similar nature. For example, the parable of the leaven was brought into creation by the parable of the mustard seed. When a critic makes such assumptions as this example points out, one is driven to say that there is no objective basis for that kind of scholarship. Furthermore, when one considers the various classifications, one cannot see any difference in the type of material one wishes to place into the forms; as for example, between the logion and apocalyptic sayings.

It is just as Dr. Easton says, "And Bultmann's further analysis into logia, etc., has nothing to do with forms; what form difference is there between the 'logion'--"Whosoever exalteth himself shall be humbled"--the "apocalyptic word"--"Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, the Son of man shall be ashamed of him"--and the 'church rule'--'Whosoever putteth away his wife and marrieth another commiteth adultery'?"(1)

As one considers Bultmann's criticism of the Apophthegmata, one realizes that form-criticism must make way for historical criticism, because, if there is any doubt about the sayings being originally Jesus' or the community's it is a problem of historicity, rather than a problem of Formgeschichte.

As a temporarily brief summary, one may say that Bultmann is too subjective and arbitrary; his Formgeschichte resolves in many cases to historical criticism. The method for determining forms which he uses in dealing with half-sentences and words in themselves is not coherent, since in the pursuit of forms one must see the Apophthegmata as a whole. One can take two very different types of writings, and by using words themselves in the critical analysis and comparison can find similarities in the words, while in the entire wholes there is little real similarity.

(1) Gospel before the Gospels, p. 74.

It is not to be taken away, "and the same" is the same
and the same, and the same is the same; and the same
reference is made to the "same" in the same way
which will be the same, and the same is the same
which is the same, and the same is the same.

And the same is the same, and the same is the same
and the same is the same, and the same is the same.

As the same is the same, and the same is the same
and the same is the same, and the same is the same.

And the same is the same, and the same is the same
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Criticism of Martin Dibelius' View.

Dibelius is of the opinion that Mark was the first individual to collect tales in order that a Gospel about Jesus might have continuity. Mark had a large mass of paradigms before him from which he took those now found in the Second Gospel. Mark also had another group of sayings, which formed a parenesis or moral code, The Passion Story, as Mark gives it, is a replica of the story which he had received; other tales, however, were altered to fix Mark's theological views.

Dibelius sees two elements in Q which were used by Matthew and Luke; namely, a part of Q, which was purely 'parenesis', and a later section of Q (possibly influenced by Mark) which contained Christological interests. These stories were really sermon types preached to the unconverted on Gentile soil, being either a message concerning Christ (Kerygma) or admonitions to repentance.

1. Parallel material in the Synoptic Gospels points to written documents instead of oral "sermons".

The first point of criticism regarding Dibelius deals with his assertion that the Gospel of Mark was composed of "sermons" which were preached on Gentile soil. Had we only the Gospel of Mark, we would have a better reason to believe this; but the First and Third Gospels help us here. If oral tradition were the source for the material, where the three agree, it seems as though these "sermons" in Mark would be the outstanding events in our Lord's ministry; but it does not appear so.

Dr. F. C. Burkitt points this out clearly, "The story of the Resurrection, the words from the Cross, the narrative of the Last Supper,--in these we might have expected all authorities to agree, even in detail; but they do not agree. On the other hand, the parenthesis which explains that Jesus turned from addressing the Pharisees to say to the sick of the palsy, 'Arise', is found in all three Synoptic Gospels; all three insert the statement concerning Herod's alarm about Jesus at the same point, and Matthew and Mark go on to relate, so to speak, in a footnote, the circumstances of John the Baptist's murder; all three inform us that the Pharisees, when they asked about the tribute-money, began by assuring our Lord that He taught the way of God in truth. These points are matters of secondary detail; an oral teaching or a catechetical tradition which contained them must be held to have had singular consistency. And if our Evangelists had walked upon fixed oral tradition of this definite sort, I cannot imagine how they dared to take such liberties with it. An oral tradition which is definite is authoritative: can we conceive of an oral tradition which accurately distinguishes between the baskets (κόφινος) of fragments taken up after the feeding of the 5000, and the hampers (σφυρίδες) taken up after feeding the 4000, but which left the details of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection vague?"(1)

It is thus to be designated that the materials which are

(1) Gospel History and Its Transmission, pp. 34-35.

Dr. F. E. Smith's paper, "The Study of

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paralleled in the first three Gospels, because of the nature of their similarities and differences, have a written source for their origin rather than oral transmission. The writer of this thesis, in believing that the written Aramaic fragments lay behind Mark, sees just the kind of translation taking place as Dr. Burkitt illustrates in the translation of the word meaning 'basket' or 'hamper'. The work done by Aramaic scholars, such as Allen, Marshall, Burney, Torrey, and others reiterates such a position. Certainly, if oral tradition was made into forms through "conscious literary art", such a keen word discrimination would not have existed; but, instead, the translators of the Aramaic into the Greek have brought about the small discriminations and differences in words.

2. First century Christianity was not concerned with Christological discussions.

However there is a more serious point to be considered. Mark's Gospel has a theological tone, which undoubtedly came quite directly from the Lord Himself. But Dibelius attempts to show that the first sermons preached on Gentile soil were those which were involved in Christological disputations and interests. In the first place, the first preachers on Gentile soil would be more concerned about the life of Jesus, the miracles, "human interest stories", rather than theological discussions, if they were to reach the uneducated hearers of the early communities. Dibelius asserts that the uneducated, un-literary type of folk were the first mission preachers; yet he goes on to assume that they were educated sufficiently to

uphold involved theological discussion, which he believes the early Gentile preaching reveals. Needless to say, therein is a great paradox. The second century rather than the first century was the era for the discussing of Christology and the formation of creeds. The first century had not found its way to such thinking.

The Gospel fragments were written through conscious necessity; undoubtedly, the early preachers preached on Gentile soil for the same reason, if Christianity were to be larger than Judaistic circles. But, it seems very inconsistent to assume that the early apostolic preachers would not have had written basis for the material which they preached. It is necessary for one to look behind the circumstances of the earliest apostolic preaching and judge whether the Gospel records were oral or written. Says W. W. Holdsworth, "The advocates of this theory (oral transmission) presuppose a fixed form of narrative repeated frequently and without variation in the selection of the incidents, the order of their narration, and the language employed, so as to lead to the 'stereotyping' which they need to account for the marked resemblance of the three Gospels. We may well ask where and how this fixed oral tradition came into being if the earliest teaching lacked continuity, and depended upon the varying needs of groups of Christians separated in locality and to some extent in habit of thought and interest."(1)

(1) Gospel Origins, p. 5.

The Didache informs us that the apostle stayed but two days in one place. It would seem necessary for some kind of written document to be left with the Church or community, lest they forget the majority of the apostle's teaching. Surely, the Oriental memory would not be so retentive as to absorb what it heard in sermons in two days. If such were true, psychology is wrong in its analysis of such cases, and human nature has changed greatly. The apostles' sayings would naturally and necessarily be committed to writing early, on the first visit of the apostle, in many cases.

Eusebius tells us that the four daughters "transmitted stories of the old days", and that "with all sorts of entreaties they (the hearers of Peter) besought Mark, a follower of Peter, that he would leave with them a written document of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease until they had prevailed with the man, and thus become the occasion of the written Gospel which bears the name of Mark." (1)

This statement is practically paralleled by Clement of Alexandria, "When Peter had publicly preached the word in Rome and declared the Gospel by the Spirit, those who were present, being many, urged Mark, as one who had followed him for a long time and remembered what he said, to record what he stated; and that he, having made his Gospel, gave it to those who made the request of him." (2)

(1) Hist. ii. 15;

(2) Hypotyp. vi;

Mention was made above that the Christological interests of the early Christian communities were not in much evidence until the second century. Dr. B. S. Easton adds a statement to this view when he says, "The fundamental weakness in Dibelius' theory is that it rests on premises which are badly theological. According to him, the earliest and purest Christianity occupied itself solely with an other-worldly ethic and an even more other-worldly apocalyptic; apparently this first church had no Christological interests at all. Not until the Gentile mission began did the acts of Jesus become a part of the regular preaching, although even then they were used merely to illustrate ethical themes. Only after degeneration had taken place and the 'world' had entered in were the miracles valued for their own sake; on this point Dibelius is very emphatic. In other words, the sainthood of the first believers was even more celestial than Luke pictures in the opening chapters of Acts! And a refutation seems superfluous." (1)

The problem which Dibelius brings before his readers is this: Did Christ make utterances about Himself which we have in the Gospel records? Or, did the people of the early Gentile-Christian communities discuss the person of Christ to such an extent, that, before long, these Christological discussions took stereotyped forms?

If there were Christological interests in the first century, they would naturally have led to much controversy. There

(1) The Gospel before the Gospels, pp. 79-80.

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until the second century. Dr. R. A. Hutton adds a statement
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According to him, the earliest and purest Christianity occupied
itself solely with an other-worldly vision and an even more
other-worldly eschatology; apparently this first vision had no
Christological interest at all. Not until the third century
began did the role of Jesus become a part of the religious
propaganda, although even then they were used merely to illustrate
ethical themes. Only after Christianity had taken place and
the 'world' had entered it were the narratives valued for their
own sake; on this point Hutton is very explicit. In other
words, the narrative of the life of Jesus was not even more
valued than the other places in the opening chapters of
Acts. And a relation seems suggested. (1)

The problem which Hutton brings before his readers is
this: Did Christ make appearances among His people or was
it the Gospel message? Dr. Hutton says, "The early Chris-
tian communities believed in the fact of Christ's
appearances, that, before long, the Christological
theology was developed." (2)

It seems to me that the Christological interest in the first century
may well naturally have been in such evidence. (3)

(1) The Gospel before the Gospels, pp. 15-16.

would have been diverse opinions held regarding the person of Christ. With these various views floating about, one can well imagine the untold difficulty there would have been in attempting to establish certain of the stories regarding Christ's person and to say, "This is the view held by the early Gentile-Christian community." It would have been practically impossible to formulate the Gospel in forms, in this particular manner, then to collect them, and call the collection the Gospel.

As one passes over into the second century, where one views Christological discussions growing, one finds that conclusions, which were adopted, were only so formulated because a council of some nature was called, where the discussion was public, and where the conclusions were adopted by a representative delegation from the various areas, where Christianity had begun to flower.

In reading Paul's letters, one is greatly impressed by the fact that the early believers on Gentile soil had adopted a belief regarding Christ and that ^{few} discussions among the people were of a Christological nature. The discussions were in regard to the manner in which the people should live, as they attempted to adjust Christianity to the customs and manners and habits, which were prevalent in Gentile territory. For example, what were the people of Thessalonica to do in face of the early Second Coming; or what were the Corinthians to do if they desired to buy and eat meat which had been offered

would have been diverse opinions held regarding the person
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In reading Paul's letters, one is greatly impressed by
the fact that the very believers on Paul's side had suggested
a policy regarding Christ and that these beliefs from the people
were of a Christological nature. The discussions were in
regard to the manner in which the people should live, as they
attempted to adjust Christianity to the customs and manners
and habits, which were prevalent in Gentile territory. For
example, what were the people of Thessalonians to do in case
of the early second coming; or what were the Corinthians to
do if they desired to get and eat meat which had been offered

for sacrifice by the heathens at the Temple; how were Jew and Christian to meet? Paul, in his letters, answers questions of this nature; but one finds ^{outside of Colossians and Ephesians} few specific places where one can say that his letter is for the purpose of straightening out some Christological dispute on Gentile soil. Consequently, the answer of Paul's attitude is, that Paul had ^{few} Christological disputes to answer, since there were ^{few} controversies of this nature in the first century; the time for such was yet to come. Christianity was too young in the first century to have these disputes. She was just finding herself and was trying to find the way to live rather than to dispute about the nature of Christ and to formulate creeds.

3. Dibelius is uncertain in his definition of "sermon".

Dibelius talks about early missionary preaching, yet he himself makes the following statement, "Wirklich gehaltene urchristliche Predigten sind uns mindestens aus den ersten Jahrzehnten nicht überliefert." (1) Furthermore, "Wir besitzen nicht eine einzige authentische Predigt oder Missionsrede des Paulus." (2) In view of such statements as these, Fascher asks the question, "Es ist deshalb nötig, der Frage näher zu treten, ob wir überhaupt ein Recht haben, von Predigtbeispielen zu reden." (3)

These three quotations tell the story. We do not have any preaching examples given to us, which we could call such in the truest sense. It is true that Paul talks before groups in

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- (1) Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, p. 7;
 - (2) As quoted by Fascher from Gelpke (p.6) in the former's Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 62;
 - (3) Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 62.

a manner which approximates preaching; but in the strict sense, it is a relating of some experience of his rather than the type of preaching, which would be of the kind that Dibelius talks about in his "preaching examples".

One does not have any testimonials regarding the kind of missionary preaching that existed; if one had one might be helped here in the problem. But, the difficulty is even greater than that. Even if one knew the kind of missionary preaching which prevailed, one would have no means to declare that it took a certain form in oral tradition. Also, if the kind of preaching were known, and certain forms existed one could not know the significance of the preaching examples unless he knew the situations in which they were given. Silence reigns in regard to all of this.

Dibelius, in telling that there are no records of the first decade of missionary preaching, has left his readers wondering just when the first decade of missionary preaching began. Since one has no record of this, one is at loss to weigh such a statement with great credulity and authority. But, just assuming that he did mean the ^{second} ten years after Pentecost, what significance would knowledge of preaching in this second decade have for one? If Aramaic written fragments existed within the period of ten years just mentioned these fragments would be the natural means utilized by missionaries dispensing the new religion upon Gentile soil. The written documents were made in view of the necessity which

arose, since the Second Coming hope was seen as "afar off" rather than close at hand. Hence, unity was produced in regard to Christ's saying and deeds which gave a basis for the religion "at home" among the Jews. If this were true, how much more necessary it was that, as the preachers went out into Gentile territory they had real authority,--strengthened and unified by written documents.

4. The distinctions between paradigm and novel are not clear.

Dibelius sets forth three main classifications, not including legends. They are paradigma, novels, and the paranese. It is in reference to the first two classifications that criticism is necessary. We are told by Dibelius that the paradigma, which have an edifying nature and composition, have been religiously colored with the expressions of missionary language and contain either a choral conclusion with reference to some great event or a conclusion containing a speech of universal value. The novels are enlarged paradigma with more description; they may have a profane nature; they are not so edifying or general in their conclusions.

In the first place, one can discern that Dibelius has stepped far when he has attempted to say that from the forms, which he sees, there can be found the purpose of preaching on Gentile soil. What, one may ask with all fairness, can be seen in a form alone, which will give indication of its use in Gentile preaching? Structure does not signify purpose.

But, even a more visible criticism can be found; namely, the fine classification resorted to by Dibelius, in attempting to distinguish between the paradigma and the novels. As a test case might one look at one paradigma, Mark 10.13-16, and compare it with a novel, Mark 4. 35-41:

Mark 10.13-16

And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them.

But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.

Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein.

And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.

(Paradigma)

Mark 4.35-41

And the same day, when the even was come, he saith unto them, Let us pass over unto the other side.

And when they had sent away the multitude, they took him even as he was in the ship. And there were also with him other little ships.

And there arose a great storm of wind, and the waves beat into the ship, so that it was now full.

And he was in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow: and they awake him, and say unto him, Master, carest thou not that we perish?

And he arose, and rebuked the wind, and said unto the sea, Peace, be still. And the wind ceased, and there was a great calm.

And he said unto them, Why are ye so fearful? How is it that ye have no faith?

And they feared exceedingly, and said one to another, What manner of man is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?

(Novel)

In these examples, one wonders why the classification was not reversed, since the paradigma seems to measure more closely to the requirements of the novel; and vice versa. In the paradigm here, there is no choral conclusion, although Jesus does make a general statement in the next to the last

But, even a more explicit criticism can be found; namely, the time classification resorted to by Mitchell, in attempting to distinguish between the paradigms and the novels. As a test case might one look at one paradigm, Mark 10.13-16, and compare it with a novel, Mark 4.25-41:

Mark 10.13-16

And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbear not: for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not so receive the kingdom of God, he shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.

(Paradigm)

Mark 4.25-41

And the same day, when the even was come, he said unto them, Let us pass over unto the other side. And when they had sent away the multitude, they took him even as he was in the ship. And there were also with him other little ships. And there arose a great storm of wind, and the waves beat into the ship, so that it was now full. And he was in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow: and they wakened him, and say unto him, Master, we are perishing. Then he arose, and rebuked the wind, and said unto the sea, Peace, be still. And the wind ceased, and there was a great calm. And he said unto them, Why are ye so fearful? How is it that ye have no faith? And they feared exceedingly, and said one to another, What manner of man is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?

(Novel)

In these examples, one wonders why the classification was not reversed, since the paradigm seems to measure more closely to the requirements of the novel; and vice versa. In the paradigm here, there is no formal conclusion, although Jesus does make a general statement in the next to the last

verse, 10.15. But one finds more of a "type" paradigm in the novel, when they said to each other, "What manner of man is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?" This has more of the choral nature, and still has a universal significance attached. Consequently, so far as the conclusion requirements are concerned, Dibelius' classification of characteristics means little, as shown through these wide examples; if anything, the examples could be reversed, and better fit the characteristics which he has laid down for them.

It is true, that there is more description in the novel given here, but the description within the body of the novel, so far as objective discrimination is concerned, has nothing to do in determining form; there is more action in this particular novel than in this particular paradigm, and hence, a bit more description accompanies the narrative. However one is not able to see anything different in its general form, as compared with the paradigm listed here. If one turns to a short novel, as the healing of the blind man of Bethsaida, Mark 8.22-26, one finds that there is no more description or narrative there than in the paradigms which Dibelius has listed.

Dibelius designates that the disciples have a greater attitude of worldliness; yet, one questions this fact in the case of these two examples since the attitude of the disciples here toward little children is even less "worldly" than their attitude toward the sea-storm. This is debatable, of course; but in all fairness, one can safely say that each has as much of the worldly attitude as the other.

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more description accompanies the narrative. However one is
not able to see anything different in its general form, as com-
pared with the passage listed here. It goes to a point
novel, as the heading of the kind of character, with a little
of kind that there is no more description or narrative there
than in the passage which I believe has listed.

I believe I suggested that the classics have a certain
attitude of worldliness, but the question has led to the
case of these two examples since the attitude of the classical
have toward little children is even less "worldly" than their
attitude toward the non-child. This is debatable, of course;
but in all fairness, one can safely say that each has as much
of the worldly attitude as the other.

So far as the teaching of Jesus is concerned in these two cases, one observes at the first glance that the paradigm is the more edifying. Yet, as one thinks through the two, and compares them, one realizes that there is just as much of an edifying motive in Jesus' teaching regarding faith as there is in his teaching regarding little children and the conditions for one's entering into the kingdom of God. The discrimination is so obviously small, if there is any discrimination, that one seriously questions the arbitrariness of Dibelius' method of classification.

Of course, the comparison of one example of one class with one example of another class is not always indicative that the same kind of comparison would hold throughout; but it is an indicator of the possibilities. In the case of Dibelius' classifications, a comparison of all of the examples of his two classes will bring results similar to those just found. The general concluding attitude is: There is not justification for making a discrimination between novels and paradigms, so far as the internal evidence is concerned: furthermore, there is nothing indicative that there is a preaching motive, or a Gentile-preaching motive, in either the novels or paradigms. Only an imaginative, subjective attitude can bring about any discrimination between the two; there is no reason to distinguish between the so-called "preacher" and the so-called "story teller", so far as the novels and paradigms are concerned. Nor can one find any reason, in the same manner, to discriminate between the pure and unpure paradigms,

So far as the teaching of logic is concerned in these
two cases, one observes at the first glance that the paradigm
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is in his teaching regarding little children and the conditions
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will bring results similar to those just noted. The general con-
cluding remark is: There is not justification for making a
distinction between novels and parables, so far as the inter-
pretation is concerned; that is, the two are equally indica-
tive that there is a general motive, a teaching-motive,
notive, in either the novels or parables. Only an imaginative,
subjective attitude can bring about any distinction between
the two; there is no reason to distinguish between the so-called
"parable" and the so-called "story telling", so far as the novels
and parables are concerned. Nor can one find any reason, in the
same manner, to distinguish between the pure and impure parables.

as all such means of minute and hair-splitting classifications have no objective basis.

Dibelius' theory meets difficulties in face of written documents. If Aramaic fragments existed at approximately 40 A. D., before Gentile mission preaching started, his view weakens greatly. And consequently, the fact of closely discriminated classifications, as novels and paradigms (both pure and unpure), would not exist, since the origin of these fragments on Jewish soil would give a historically sound and unified basis for the teaching that was later to go out onto Gentile soil.

5. Paradigms do not show structural form.

Dibelius points out seven pure paradigms, in Mark 2.1 ff., 2.18 ff., 2.23 ff., 3.1 ff., 3.20 f., 31 ff, 10.13 ff., and 12.13 ff. (Most of these are called apophthegmata by Bultmann, although Bultmann leaves 12.13 ff. out of any classification. Many apophthegmata of Bultmann's classification are not classified in any manner by Dibelius.) An analysis of these will show one wherein there is any basis for forms, or wherein such a form assumption is erroneous.

Each of these starts as follows:

Mark 2.1 - "And again he entered into Capernaum after some days; and it was noised that he was in the house..."

Mark 2.18 - "And the disciples of John and of the Pharisees used to fast: and they come and say unto him, Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not?..."

as all such means of escape and half-forgotten classifications
have no objective basis.

Marxism's theory must be distinguished in fact as well as
in principle. It is a theory which existed at approximately
1848 A.D., before Gentile's classical preaching started, his view
was not greatly, and consequently, the fact of closely identifying
these classifications, as novels and paragraphs (both were not
separate), would not exist, since the origin of these fragments
on Jewish soil would give a historically sound and unified basis
for the remaining text was later to be set into Gentile soil.

3. Paraphrases to not show historical facts.

Marxism's theory not covers these paragraphs, in fact 1.1.11.,
1.1.12., 1.1.13., 1.1.14., 1.1.15., 1.1.16., 1.1.17., and
1.1.18. (Most of these are called paraphrases by Gentile,
although Gentile leaves 1.1.19. out of any classification.
Many paraphrases of Gentile's classification are not of any
fact in any manner by Marxism.) An analysis of these will show
one wherein there is any basis for Marx, or wherein such a form
assumption is erroneous.

Each of these appears as follows:

1.1.1. - "and again he entered into Capernaum after some days;
and it was related that he was in the house..."
Mark 1.18 - "and the disciples of John and of the Pharisees came
to him: and they came and said unto him, Why do the disciples
of John and of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not?"

Mark 2.23 - "And it came to pass, that he went through the corn fields on the sabbath day; and his disciples began, as they went, to pluck the ears of corn..."

Mark 3.1 - "And he entered again into the synagogue; and there was a man there which had a withered hand..."

Mark 3.20 - "And the multitude cometh together again, so that they could not so much as eat bread..."

Mark 10.13 - "And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them..."

Mark 12.13 - "And they send unto him certain of the Pharisees and of the Herodians, to catch him in his words..."

The same conclusion is reached here which was attained in Bultmann's miracle forms; there is no established introduction which can be determined from the objective data. In these paradigm beginnings, He enters into a house, His disciples ask a question of Him, the disciples perform an act that is going to cause question upon the part of the Scribes and Pharisees, a man with a withered hand is found in the synagogue who is to invoke a cure, the crowd comes en masse to see Jesus, the disciples rebuke young children and thus start a discussion on Jesus' part, and certain Pharisees attempt to catch Jesus in what He is saying. What can be said of such beginnings? They are quite different in their nature; and nothing is seen in their similarities which would indicate a peculiar form in them.

Mark 2.25 - "And it came to pass, that he went through the

corn fields on the Sabbath day; and his disciples began, as

they went, to pluck the ears of corn..."

Mark 2.1 - "And he entered again into the synagogue; and there

was a man there which had a withered hand..."

Mark 2.20 - "And the multitude compassed together again, so that

they could not so much as eat bread..."

Mark 10.15 - "And they strongly young children to him, that he

should touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought

them..."

Mark 12.15 - "And they sent unto him certain of the Pharisees and

of the Herodians, to catch him in his words..."

The same conclusion is reached here which was obtained in

Matthew's miracle story; there is no established instruction

which can be determined from the objective data. In these cases

the beginning, the matter is a fact, the disciples are a

question of him, the disciples perform as not that in being so

on the question upon the part of the teacher and the learner,

and with a witness that is found in the synagogues who is so

involved a story, the crowd comes on stage to see Jesus, the disc-

iples rebuke young children and then there is a discussion on Jesus'

part, and certain Pharisees attempt to catch Jesus in what he is

saying. What can be said of such hesitations? They are quite

different in their nature; and nothing is seen in their nature-

like which would indicate a possible turn in them.

Each of these is instructive, but so are the novels. However, there is no set manner of edification in the paradigms, as the length, method, and manner is unique in each. One can find none of Jesus' sayings in which there is lacking important instruction. If He said some things which were not worth recording because they lacked the edifying note, they are not recorded.

In the paradigms, the conclusion is either a chorus which proclaims something of universal significance or a general statement of universal value. In Mark 2.12, they exclaim, "We never saw it on this fashion.."; in Mark 2.22, there is the saying in regard to putting new wine into new bottles; Mark 2.28- "Therefore the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath.."; in Mark 3.35, He gives doing the will of God as the condition which will establish relationship to Himself; Mark 10.16 shows Him taking the little children in His arms, and blessing them; and, Mark 12.17 gives a picture, after His words regarding Caesar's inscription on the coin, of the people marveling at Him.

In only two of these examples, the people marvel at the works of Jesus. In the other seven examples the conclusions are different. But there is nothing in the text to guide one in making a form-type conclusion.

6. Dibelius classifies only part of the material into forms.

If one were to apply the method to all of Mark, one would find little in the "forms" that would weave into Dibelius' general theory. When one considers that the paradigms are pure in only seven

each of these is instructive, but so are the novels. However, there is no set manner of education in the paragraphs, as the length, method, and manner is unique in each. One can find none of these things in which there is lacking important information. It is said some things which were not worth recording because they lacked the edifying note, they are not recorded. In the paragraphs, the conclusion is either a general statement of universal value or a general statement of universal value. In Mark 12.12, they decide, "We never see it as this reason..."; in Mark 12.13, there is the saying in regard to fasting, now and then; Mark 12.14, "There is no law of man is more than the law of God..."; in Mark 12.15, he gives the will of God as the condition which will result in righteousness to himself; Mark 12.16, he gives the will of God as the condition which will result in righteousness to himself, and, Mark 12.17, gives a picture, after his words regarding Caesar's taxation on the coin, of the people marveling at him. In only two of these examples, the people marvel at the words of Jesus. In the other seven examples the conclusions are different. But there is nothing in the text to guide one in making a four-type conclusion.

8. Relative classification only part of the material is taken
It was to apply the method to all of Mark, and would find little in the "form" that would have been classified, general then. When one concludes that the paragraphs are given in only seven

cases, according to him, one wonders why so few of the most important which served for edifying the Gentile converts are in the Second Gospel. But, on the other hand, if one considers all the Gospel of Mark, realizing that the Gospel existed in its fragmentary Aramaic form before the Gentile mission preaching began, one sees it as a whole Gospel, "pure" throughout and edifying in its entirety.. Koehler wisely remarked, "Dibelius hat weislich gehandelt, dass er im Grunde nur Mc heranzieht, und dass er auch, was Mc angeht, auf Vollständigkeit verzichtet und nur Beispiele bietet. Seine Darstellung wird dadurch glänzend, aber sie wird auch trügerisch, am meisten wohl für ihn selber. Sobald er sich anschicken würde, den ganzen Mc durchzuuntersuchen, würde seine formgeschichtliche Methode versagen. Er würde aber auf eine Reihe von andern, auch irgendwie formgeschichtlichen Erscheinungen stossen, welche das Ergebnis umgestalten." (1)

Easton criticizes Dibelius in a general way by saying, "In the first place, his assertion that we cannot carry the paradigm behind the beginning of the Gentile mission is contradicted by the evidence....In the second place, the limitation of his analysis to mission preaching is equally unwarranted.. But the fundamental weakness in Dibelius' theory is that it rests on premises which are badly theological." (2)

Again, Koehler makes an important criticism, "In the classification of the two definite and mutually distinct types of narrative indicated before, Dibelius has undoubt-

(1) Das formgeschichtliche Problem des N.T., p. 27;
 (2) The Gospel before the Gospel, pp. 78, 79.

edly succeeded better than any of his predecessors in distinguishing these types from one another and in fixing their characteristics. In this he has rendered a permanent service. But immediately a serious objection arises. What, we ask, becomes of the Gospel of Mark as a whole when by the procedure of Dibelius it is resolved into such units...The question is whether Dibelius has displayed a sufficient variety of interests to enable him to classify according to their form all the units that emerge with the dissolution of Mark... When one employs other types of literary form such as exhortation (parenesis) and myth in addition to the paradigm and the novel, a considerable number of Markan parts remains which cannot be fitted into the scheme of Dibelius." (1)

A fault to be found with Formgeschichte scholars is that they classify only part of the material. It is but natural that one asks, "But what shall we do with the rest of the material?" For some reason, Dibelius and the others have not told us, although there is an entire Gospel with which to deal. Although his theory is open to much criticism Dibelius has made the fairest approach to the problem of Formgeschichte.

(1) "The Meaning and Possibilities of Formgeschichte." Journal of Religion, October, 1928, p. 611.

Criticism of Georg Bertram's View.

1. Bertram's problem is kultgeschichtlich and not formgeschichtlich.

Bertram is concerned only with the Passion Story in his dealing with Formgeschichte. The Church felt a religious reverence for Christ and expressed that reverence in cult-legends. As one reads Die Leidengeschichte Jesu und der Christuskult, one is impressed that the problem is the history of the cult and its impression upon the early Christian believers. The problem appears kultgeschichtlich rather than formgeschichtlich. Bertram holds that the early community saw the necessity of forming a cult, based on the traditions concerning Jesus. In his definition of cult, he is very liberal; he says, "Dieses Priorität der kultischen Motive gegenüber irgendwelchen dogmatischen ist die Voraussetzung unserer Methode. Eine Religion entsteht nicht als Dogma und Sittenlehre, mit Angriffs- und Verteidigungstendenz nach aussen, sondern als Kultus, d.h. als inneres Verhältnis der Gläubigen zu ihrem Kultheros, das in ihrem Glauben und Leben - nicht etwa im Gottesdienst - zum spontanen Ausdruck kommt." (1)

Those who believe are the carriers of the traditions. "So sprechen wir von einer kultischen Einstellung im Gegensatz zur dogmatischen, polemischen usw. und im Unterschied von der frommen Betrachtung des einzelnen." (2) The Passion Story is not a narrative of Jesus, but a legend which

grew up in the midst of the cult members after the Resurrection.

2. Formgeschichte would be less likely concerned with the later events, like the Passion Story.

It seems, however, that if Formgeschichte were to have force in the Gospel records, it would be in the earlier events in the life of Jesus rather than in the late events like those of the Passion Story. After Jesus had asked His disciples at Caesarea Philippi, "But who say ye that I am?" (Matthew 16.15), and "Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matthew 16.16), the disciples must have taken note of Jesus in a peculiarly careful manner; at least Peter did. "Then charged he his disciples that they should tell no man that he was Jesus the Christ." (Matthew 16.20)

Why was this? Because Jesus, as He explains in the following verses, knew that He must suffer and be killed. In a short time He would not be with them and there was much He desired to teach in regard to His Kingdom. That is the reason for the silence; He desired time to teach before He was crucified. The very tone and temper of the Gospel of Matthew is changed after Peter's great confession at Caesarea Philippi. It does not sound like the kind of circumstances wherein Formgeschichte would enter.

So, with the realization that Jesus was the Messiah, and with the consciousness that He would be taken away soon from them, it is psychologically sound to believe that the disciples would be eager to notice and to listen to everything that Jesus said or did in their presence. His words and acts would be weighed more closely than before. It is diffi-

cult to imagine that Jesus' followers would be so mentally lazy or indifferent that they would not make note of that which they saw or heard regarding their Master.

3. An interpretation of the facts of this Passion Story points to Jesus' words preceding the "cult".

But one must go deeper than surface assumptions. Hence, two ways of inquiry will be used in order to find what ground Bertram has in assuming Formgeschichte for the Passion Story. One is a presentation of the facts of the story; the other is an interpretation of them.

The institution of the Eucharist as part of the cult has caused criticism among the skeptical scholars. Drews has done his part in this criticizing. He says, "The mysticism of the Festive supper cannot have been instituted by Jesus, but is based on the cult of the Christian community and was subsequently put in the mouth of the supposed founder." (1) He further believes that historical theology is wrong in regarding I Corininthians 11.23-26 as the earliest version regarding the words at the institution of the Lord's Supper, since they seem to intimate that liturgy for that service had been in vogue. However, the majority of the liturgy agrees that most of the liturgical words were first used near the end of the second century. Early first century Christianity had not awakened to the fact of creeds and liturgy.

Jülicher tries to argue that the Second Coming was looked upon by the followers of Jesus as coming soon, since

(1) The Witnesses to the Historicity of Jesus, p. 83.

Jesus himself in Matthew 26.29 had no idea of a long period of time before the Kingdom would come, and hence did not institute anything for His followers to hold in memory fashion.

However, in this passage, Jesus is referring to the fact that He, and not His followers, will not drink out of the cup and eat the bread until the time of the opportunity to celebrate it in His Father's Kingdom. There is little here which negates founding the Last Supper, as a means of some kind of definite remembrance.

If the Last Supper was just like the other suppers which Jesus had had with His disciples, except that it was somewhat more prolonged, as Bertram states, one wonders where Paul received his information which would cause him to write the words in 1 Corinthians 11.23-26. The only answer which one can receive is that he learned from other disciples, undoubtedly at the Jerusalem Council or when Peter came to Antioch (Galatians 2, 1-10; 2.11.). Likewise, Peter gave these words to Mark, who embodied them in his Gospel. It is difficult to understand how Formgeschichte can call for attention here. All seems to point to Peter as the source who received the words directly from the Lord, and then transmitted them to both Paul and Mark at different times. Formgeschichte must discount a double testimony here of the vocal transmission by Peter, to those who wrote them down.

Bertram deals with the problem in a psychological manner, rather than treating it as a problem of Formgeschichte. He has digressed from the real problem. Dibelius, Bultmann, and Albertz (excepting their treatment of myths) deal with the problem of forms which arose in oral tradition. But Bertram's main concern is, whether the words or the cult came first. He holds that the latter had first origin and read the words into the situation. However, these words were placed within the cult, not in a certain manner which would fit into set forms, but rather because it gave a certain aesthetic sense to the existing cult. Fascher also looks upon the problem in a similar sense when he says, "Die Lektüre der Passion gewährt einen aesthetischen Genuss, sie zeichnet mit hoher Darstellungskunst, die besonders Johannes eigen ist, das Bild des Heilandes und Kultheros." (1) But all this runs around the circle of Formgeschichte.

Psychological presuppositions and aesthetic mountings do not determine the fact of forms, when the former are concerned with myths.

4. Myths are not forms.

Dr. Burton S. Easton affirms that scholars who hold myths and legends as part of such a theory are in error. He says, "From the historical standpoint questions as the possible presence of mythical, legendary, cult-legendary, and epiphany elements are wholly legitimate, and they demand an answer, But neither can the questions be asked nor the answers given from the standpoint of form-criticism." (2)

(1) Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 178;

(2) The Gospel before the Gospels, p. 64.

Loisy regarded the Gospels as having a prophetic liturgical character, due to their style. He thought that the Gospels would lose significance, in the discussions about the historical nature of them, if "these were handbooks relating to the cult of the Lord Christ, if the oracles of the Lord Jesus had been worded by the prophets of the first Christian age, if the account of the Passion was related to the ritual or rituals of the Christian Passover in early times." (1) Consequently, Loisy attempted to show that there is a certain rhythm which exists in these rituals. However, very few have been agreed with Loisy in his position. Goguel, another French scholar, makes this remark regarding Loisy's viewpoint. "The rhythm discoverable in the Gospels most frequently does not surpass the characteristic forms of Oriental thought, with its predilection for parallelism and antithesis, for opposition, enumeration and gradation, which follow from the dialectical process which it habitually employs. There is nothing which justifies us in calling this a liturgical style properly so called. There is, besides, a very grave objection to the suggestion that the Gospels were compiled for public worship; it is that there is no trace in first-century Christianity of a liturgical use of the Gospels." (2)

These two scholars have been mentioned here because, Loisy in the first place, with his liturgical approach would not allow the Gospels to relate to the cult of the Lord such as Bertram holds; and secondly, because Goguel's constructive criticism of Loisy's view here seems most justifiable in the light of these dissertations.

(1) Revue Critique, p. 402; (2) Jesus the Nazarene: Myth or History, p. 276.

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5. Bertram's position does not have objective historical support.

When Bertram says that the words which designate the betrayer are of a pragmatic and apologetic manner, and that their inner logic explains the cult, he is speaking in ^{conclusion} language which is far remote from the most natural/that Peter, or any of the other close disciples of Jesus, -(perhaps, remembering the Oriental memory and its strength of retentiveness), - would have remembered quite graphically the situation and the words, so far as their meaning is concerned, when Jesus designated that one would betray Him. Perhaps ^{of} some previous notice/Judas had led Him to speak so on the night of the Last Supper. With the impress of this commemorative occasion clearly made upon a disciple like Peter, it can be supposed that this instance was of the earliest to be jotted down in the language employed, i.e., Aramaic, in some fragmentary way. Here again Bertram's theory is not supported by any historical or objective data. Whatever Apostilic writings there are relative to this situation, none refers to it as cultish. Instead, the references affirm its authenticity, with Peter relating the situation to Mark. (see the Papias tradition).

S. Butler in his work (1) has attempted in a way somewhat similar to Bertram's, (although not in a Formgeschichte manner), to show the cultish significance embodied in the handing over of Jesus to the priests. When Jesus says "One of you will hand me over" (2), Butler believes there is

(1)"The Greek Mysteries and the Gospels," in, The Nineteenth Century and After; (2) Mark 14.18.

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS

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a parallel with the παράδοσις of the Greek mystery cults.

Here the "handing-over" is that of the Christ rather than the sacra. He takes the two verbs παράδωμι and προδίδωμι, and informs us that the former always has the connotation of "hand over", while the latter constantly implies the idea of betrayal.

T.J.Thorburn has criticized this idea, "Here it must suffice to say that the distinction drawn above, and generally (~~But~~ not invariably) made in classical Greek, does not hold at all good in the popular and post-classical Greek of the first century; that Judas has in one instance (Luke 6.16) the term προδοτής (betrayor) applied to him, which shows that his act of "handing over" of Jesus was not regarded by first-century Christians as a mere ritual act in some Jewish or Gentile mystery-drama akin to the Greek Eleusinia, but was looked upon as a piece of actual treachery on his part. Accordingly, upon the complete breakdown of this alleged distinction in meaning," the "entire force" of such an argument is lost. (1)

Butler goes on further to show that, when the disciples asked "one after another", "Is it I?", "This strange expression seems to indicate that the writer of Mark's Gospel had found words so written in some Greek note or document which he was using as the foundation of his narrative, a note or document of weight or authority sufficient to induce him to retain the phrase in his own history. Otherwise, he

(1) Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels, p. 200.

would have used the ordinary phrase [εἶς] καὸ' ἕνα ", (1) instead of εἶς καὸ' εἶς . But here as before, ~~his~~ linguistic theorizing, in attempting to build up a cult-theory, is fanciful as a hypothesis, but not fundamental in building up a lasting theory. If one holds to the possible view of early written fragments behind the Passion Story, all fanciful, subjective theories fall, so far as the idea of the cult is concerned. And, if one considers that the establishing of the cult through the myths which existed is not a Formgeschichte problem, Bertram's theory loses weight in the light of Formgeschichte. In considering the whole Passion Story, one should bear in mind that it is not a problem of Formgeschichte. Consequently, Bertram's derivations have been worked out on the line of false presuppositions. The main task here is to show wherein the fallacy lies in holding the Passion Story as a product of myth-lore.

When Bertram says, "Der Jesus von Gethsemane ist der Jesus des Kultes" (2), he makes a sweeping statement, which finds little support. There are scholars, as Robertson and Drews, who see the mythical significance here, in view of the fact that each time, when Jesus came to the disciples, He found them asleep. They ask how any report of the prayer could have been made, if they were asleep. Because of some elements in the report, they question the whole scene. One might say that they were not asleep all the time and heard fragments,

(1) The Greek Mysteries and the Gospels, pp. 492 ff.;

(2) Die Leidengeschichte Jesu, p. 48.

(and undoubtedly we have only fragments of the prayer here as we have but fragments in practically all situations; e.g., they remembered these fragments which were later put down in Aramaic and then later embodied in Mark's Gospel.)

The writer of this thesis holds to an even firmer means of support for the report of this incident. He refers to the young man who was in the garden nearby with a sheet about himself, but who, when attacked, fled away naked. "And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and the young men laid hold on him: and he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked." (Mark 14. 51,52). No one would have been able to make such a report of this, unless it were the person himself; and the strongest possibility that can enter here is, that the one who fled was John Mark, who later compiled the Second Gospel with Peter's help.

The whole Passion Story lends itself to criticism like the above. The various incidents are different in subject matter, but not in character. All receive criticism, so far as Formgeschichte is concerned, on the ground that myths are not to be considered as forms, and thus are not in the problem of Formgeschichte. Furthermore, if the problem were one of Formgeschichte, there is much evidence to show that early written ^{fragments} lay behind the Gospel of Mark. Also, whatever parallels there are in myth-lore, the connection between them and the cult Bertram attempts to set up here is small. Throughout the study of Bertram one is conscious of his subjective method; most objective evidence affirms that the Gospel preceded the cult.

6. A report of Jesus at Gethsemane would be psychologically possible.

Bertram places a great deal of weight upon the fact, that a report of the scene in Gethsemane would have been psychologically impossible for the disciples, or any other eye-witness. It has been stated previously that out of all which happened in Gethsemane only some of the outstanding words and actions have been reported. One does not know how far away Peter, James, and John were; but it is safe to suppose that they were close enough to see and hear well. Mark tells us, "And they came to a place which was named Gethsemane; and he saith to his disciples, sit ye here, while I pray. And he taketh with him Peter and James and John, and began to be sore amazed, and to be very heavy; and saith unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful unto death; tarry ye here, and watch. And he went forward a little and fell on the ground, and prayed....." (1)

The most natural picture is, that the three disciples were very close, and so far as the physical circumstances were concerned, the reporting of the incident would have been possible. Furthermore, there is indication that Mark also was nearby, and that if anything was missed by the disciples while they were asleep, Mark was awake to see and hear. Hence, the scene would not lack witnesses.

(1) Mark 14.32-35.

Section 1. The first part of the report.

Section 2. The second part of the report.

Section 3. The third part of the report.

Section 4. The fourth part of the report.

Section 5. The fifth part of the report.

Section 6. The sixth part of the report.

Section 7. The seventh part of the report.

Section 8. The eighth part of the report.

Section 9. The ninth part of the report.

Section 10. The tenth part of the report.

Section 11. The eleventh part of the report.

Section 12. The twelfth part of the report.

Section 13. The thirteenth part of the report.

Section 14. The fourteenth part of the report.

Section 15. The fifteenth part of the report.

Section 16. The sixteenth part of the report.

Section 17. The seventeenth part of the report.

Section 18. The eighteenth part of the report.

Section 19. The nineteenth part of the report.

Section 20. The twentieth part of the report.

Section 21. The twenty-first part of the report.

Section 22. The twenty-second part of the report.

It also seems improbable that a man of prayer like Him would spend a great deal of time in prayer of loudly uttered words. Hence, the disciples would have caught only His words which were loudly uttered as He entered the garden each time after ^{they} had slept. But, if they were sleeping, Mark was not. No matter how one attempts to interpret the situation, the criticism of Bertram's which says that a report of this incident was psychologically impossible finds little support. The witnesses here are numerous enough to allow the historicity of the situation. At least, there is no evidence which points to the situation as mythical.

Fascher has concluded a criticism of Bertram, "Gab uns schon die formgeschichtliche Methode wegen ihrer Stellung zur historischen Forschung Anlass zu Bedenken, so haben wir noch weniger Grund, Bertrams kultgeschichtliche Methode mit Begeisterung zu begrüßen, die den letzten Rest von geschichtlichem Sinn noch preisgibt und darin einen Fortschritt gegenüber der Formgeschichte erreicht zu haben behauptet." (1)

He has well summarized in a few words the chief criticism of Bertram.

(1) Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 185.

Criticism of Martin Albertz's View

Dr. B. S. Easton says regarding Albertz, "Albertz essayed too great a task in attempting to bring all the controversy sections under a common classification; he failed to show that the controversy as such was a recognized 'form' and his two sub-classes of 'tempting' and 'non-tempting' controversies are too simple." (1)

Albertz believes that the controversial dialogues are set "forms", which have their own laws; the dialogues in themselves were authentic, but the form was obtained in order that needless details might be omitted. He attempts in a detailed manner to show the relation between that which Mark has in his Gospel, (and a group of Q sayings, as well), and that which the original conversation contained.

One is aware that a critic who attempts to show what was said, as compared with that which is said, is face to face with a problem that will find little objective proof. Especially is this true in the case of the Synoptic Gospels, due to the meagreness of material, and extra-canonical data, with which one may deal. The final authority in a case of this nature is the critic himself. Hence, such a view becomes entirely subjective and arbitrary.

(1) "A Primitive Tradition in Mark," pp. 86-87, in Case's Studies in Early Christianity.

1. The Galilean disputes are not necessarily the product of Galilee nor are they forms. Albertz views the disputes in Mark 2.1 - 3.6, five in number, (2.1-12; 2.13-17; 2.18-22; 2.23-27; 3.1-6), as having their origin on Galilean soil. It is true that Capernaum is mentioned in 2.1; and "by the sea side" is expressed in 2.13, which may be inferred to be the sea of Galilee although nothing definite is given to us to designate it as such. However, if one places the rest of the disputes in Galilee, one must presuppose with little objective reference. If the Markan material were put in chronological order, one might have a certain secure feeling that these conversations and narratives were upon Galilean soil. However, there is nothing which gives us evidence that Mark's Gospel is of a chronological nature. In fact, from the statement of Papias, "Mark...wrote down accurately, though not in order", one would infer that Mark lacked chronology. If such is true, then there is a rejection of the material in parts of 2.18-3.6 as being necessarily of Galilean origin. There is nothing to prove that it did not take place there; but there is nothing, also, to prove the point that Albertz is attempting to make in his theory regarding this.

It is of value for one to study the structure of these disputes, as one studied the miracles, which Bultmann analyzed, and the paradigms of Dibelius. In Mark 2.6, the opponents of Jesus say nothing; they merely think. In 2.16, they turn indirectly to Jesus with a question. In 2.18, Jesus is asked a question by the Pharisees in an indirect way, with particular reference to the attitude

of Jesus' disciples. Mark 2.24 shows the Pharisees' question, full of censure and complaint. In Mark 3.6, the Pharisees say nothing, but go to Herod.

It is hard to discern a set form in these examples for obvious differences exist. There may be seen a certain degree of gradation in the attitude of the Pharisees toward Jesus, as in 2.6 they are silent, while in 3.6 they go to Herod, to tell him about this teacher. Albertz states that the attitude of Jesus' opponents changes throughout Mark: Bultmann says the attitude is unchanged.

2. No objective data points to a changing conception of 'Son of Man' in the Second Gospel; Mark 2.1-13 was not necessarily added later. Fascher says in a summary way regarding Albertz's attitude here, "Sie entstammt einer Überschau über das ganze Evangelium. Und da ist es in der Tat auffällig, dass schon Mc 3.6 der Konflikt auf die Spitze getrieben ist. Wie ist das möglich, kann diese Bemerkung von Markus stammen? Wir müssen den Ursprung and Werdegang dieser Sammlung erklären. Dass sie nicht von Markus stammt, begründet Albertz folgendermassen:

1) Der Hinweis auf die Passion ist für den Markus-Plan zu früh (Lc 6.11 schwächt ihn deshalb stark ab); denn erst 8.31 weiht Jesus die Seinen in sein Schicksal ein.

2) Das baldige Nachbringen eines einzelnen Gesprächs (3.22-30) wäre auffällig, wenn Markus die Zusammenstellung vorgenommen hätte. Die Höhe der Konfliktslage in 3.6 wird dadurch wieder abgeschwächt.

3) Die Sammlung gebraucht den Ausdruck 'Menschensohn' im Sinne von Mensch, den Markus erst von den Leidensweisungen an in einem eschatologischen Sinne - auf den Messias bezogen - anwendet. "(1)

If the question about the Son of Man in the earlier chapters, as compared to the reference in Mark 8.31, is used in some special sense, as Albertz designates, the sense does not necessarily need to be read into the expression, because it appears in the second chapter of the book.

And yet, with the help of Peter, it is reasonable that there would be some kind of order in the events, even if the order were not in perfect chronology. And, it does seem that whatever Jesus said after Caesarea Philippi would have a **certain** impressive meaning, and that Peter would in relating impressions to Mark well remember the utterances which had come after the confession at that place. If 'Son of Man' means something different in 2.28, one must say that one does not know. Furthermore, there is no evidence to verify that this expression was added by Mark when he collected his material together for his Gospel.

Albertz believes the following method was employed by the compiler of the section, 2.1-3.6, First, there were the individual stories floating around; then, they were collected, and certain additions made, as 3.6 shows; then there was the

(1) Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 147.

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inserting of an addition as 2.1-2.13 into the Gospel, then there was a changing of the order.

Again one sees the unnaturalness of such a procedure, and that there is nothing to warrant such an assumption.

One can assume with a sense of certainty that such statements, as 'the Son of Man' in 2.28, are not editor's additions. This dissertation cannot discuss the fact of either a growing or a static idea of 'Son of Man', but it can be said here, that undoubtedly the terms were embodied in the Gospel without footnotes or elaborate explanations. Mark would not have made an addition of this term, or have necessarily thought about the various meanings of his term, because the time was not yet ripe for Christological disputes.

3. The Jerusalem Disputes Suffer Criticism Similar to the Galilean Disputes. The disputes which have their origin on Jerusalem soil, (found in the section Mark 11.15-12-40), are criticized somewhat like the Galilean disputes. The location can be Jerusalem, due to the reference to Bethany, the Temple, and the fig tree which was mentioned at first at Bethany. Yet, there is nothing of a geographical nature, outside of the references just made, which would ascertain that the whole section took place in Jerusalem. But, there is an atmosphere in the kind of material exposed in these passages, which would make one believe that the conversation was on the territory near the reigning city. Atmosphere, however, and not geographical references, must be the means of verification of the setting.

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The criticism of Bultmann and Dibelius, applies here to Albertz in his attempt to find forms by a comparison of small details in the various disputes. Analysis here shows as it did with the other Formgeschichte scholars, that the passages from which Albertz argues forms, due to similarities, have differences also, which discount the idea of forms.

4. Albertz's Classification is too broad and Misleading.

Albertz has been unfortunate in his attempted classification of the disputes into "tempting" and "non-tempting". These terms are at first misleading; only a study of the examples will show that the classifications mean, whether Jesus was tempted, or not, by His opponents into the disputes. When one knows the meaning of these two modifying words, then, in a study of the sections to which these refer, he is at loss to know with any degree of certainty whether Jesus was, or was not, tempted by His opponents into the discussions. So far as the data in the sections themselves are concerned, one cannot determine any objective validity for such a classification.

Furthermore, it is a meaningless kind of classification, even if one can discern that it might exist. Why, one wonders, would forms of disputes take those two ways? Would there not have been some more significant way for forms to grow, than through these two ways?

A glance back at Bultmann and Dibelius, and then at Albertz, leaves one wondering which of these scholars is right in his classification.

5. Here is little Objective data to Warrant Saying that Jesus Opponents are Types. Albertz also assumes that the opponents of Jesus are handled as types, rather than individual persons. A study of the controversies will reveal, however, that in most cases the opponents are Scribes and Pharisees. Of course, these would signify a type,- the active opponents of Jesus, since they were the sticklers for the law. But they would naturally be the most logical opponents of Jesus, because they feared that the New Teacher was destroying the old faith. One needs to do a great deal of imaginative presupposing, if he is to accept the Scribes and Pharisees in this particular kind of a role as mere "types", rather than the natural, zealous defenders of the law.

The collecting of the materials, according to Albertz, was necessitated as the communities grew in size, and oral tradition would no longer suffice. This seems a most logical view to assume. But, one asks the question, "Would the date for the forming of this collection be simultaneous with the date in which Mark's Gospel took its final form?" If one stops to consider Albertz's statement above with the question of the date, one arrives at some very obvious conclusions which are of real value.

6. Growing Christianity needed written Documents for the Sake of Uniformity. One assumes from the interest in and around Jerusalem, as recorded in the Gospels themselves, that Jesus' following was large. Although the Christians were much in the minority, they were certainly not a few in number.

"The feeding of the 5000" may be a symbolic approximation, but it does indicate that a great crowd was there to hear Jesus. Every incident connected with Jesus' ministry indicates a large throng following Him. At Pentecost (Acts 2.41), about 3000 souls" were added to the group of Christians already there. As these folks went to the various parts of the world from which they had come, they would win others to the new faith. It is safe to assume that the growth would be of quite large proportions, if not of great extent. If Pentecost is to be taken as not later than 33 A.D., one can see that by the end of the third decade there would be need for some kind of written documents which would give unity and authority to the new religion, so that it could compete with Judaism on Jewish soil, and attract attention in Gentile territory.

Hence, the various sayings and deeds were probably given written authenticity by 40 A.D., not in a Gospel form, but on various fragments, which missionaries could use for their preaching, on Gentile soil, and which the followers of the new religion on Jewish soil could have in order to give their faith a certain unity and authority.

When Paul was converted on the Damascus road, one finds that, as he went to Damascus, he was met by Ananias, a Christian. Ananias laid his hands upon Paul, a symbol used then to indicate a sort of spiritual baptism. From this ritual exercise, one may assume that the Christians had been there long enough to feel the certitude in using such a ritualistic means. Furthermore, since Paul went to persecute the Christians in that city, one infers that the

"The finding of the 5000 may be a specific approximation,
but it does indicate that a great crowd was there to hear
Jesus. Every incident connected with Jesus' ministry in
Galilee is large enough to fill the eye. At Jerusalem (John
8:12), about 5000 people were added to the group at Capernaum
already there. In those days there were no roads
of the world from which they had come, they would not have
to the new faith. It is safe to assume that the crowd would
be of quite large proportions, if not of great extent. It
is probable that he came to the lake at least 20 A.D., and was
seen that by the end of the third decade there would be need
for some kind of written documents which would give unity
and authority to the new religion, so that it could compete
with Judaism on Jewish soil, and attract attention in the
Roman Empire.

Jesus, the Jewish savior and teacher was probably
born within Palestine in 4 B.C., not in a foreign land,
but in various traditions, which in Palestine could not
for their own sake, in Galilee itself, and which the Galileans
and of the new religion in Galilee would have in order
to give their faith a certain unity and authority.

Jesus' faith was supported on the Galilean soil, the
Galilean soil, as he went to Nazareth, he was not by himself, a
Christian. Another said that Jesus was from Galilee, a Jewish
man then to indicate a certain religious history. Jesus
this Jewish religion, and was aware that the Galileans
had been there long enough to feel the influence of being
with a religious man. Furthermore, a man said that he
represented the Galileans in that city, and before that the

Christian community there was not insignificant.

What does this tend to prove? Namely, that the Christian communities had attained proportion by the time Paul had become a convert to the new cause; and that, due to their magnitude, they needed written documents at the basis of their teaching. Paul's conversion is dated at 31 by Harnack, 32 by Gilbert, 32 by Ramsay, 34 by Lightfoot, and 35 by Zahn. This tends to show that the new movement had grown to fairly great proportions by the time of Paul's conversion, and that, also, it would have grown to a large size by 40 A.D.. Documents of some kind would be needed in the spreading and imbedding of the Christian teachings.

Consequently, Albertz's attitude, that the oral forms were written in Aramaic about 70 A.D. and put into collections, places the date of transcription too late so far as the written element in the documents is concerned.

Albertz believes that the first writing of material in the Gospels was in the Aramaic.

7. The disputes would naturally have some similarities to Judaistic literature. When Albertz compares the disputes with the other parts of the Synoptic Gospels and with the disputes of the Israelitisch-Judaistic development, he again involves himself in difficulties which arise from the use of subjective methods. So far as the comparison of the Judaistic disputes is concerned, Albertz has the

Christian community there was not insignificant.

That does this tend to prove? Surely, that it

Christian community had obtained protection by the time

that had become a country to the new owner; and that, too

to their advantage, they needed written documents as

proof of their standing. Paul's conversion is dated at

AD 30 by Harnack, AD 35 by Lightfoot, AD 40 by Ramsay, AD 45 by

and AD 50 by Zahn. This tends to show that the new government

had grown so fairly great, protection by the time of Paul's

conversion, that Paul, also, it would have been to a large

extent by AD 40. Documents of some kind would be needed in

the spreading and intensification of the Christian teaching.

Consequently, Alexander's attitude, that the new owner

were written in Arabic about AD 40, and was later confirmed,

shows the date of transcription has been set at AD 40

which is not in the documents in question.

Alexander believes that the first writing to be written in

the Arabic was in the Arabic.

7. The Arabic script is generally held to be significant in

the Arabic literature. The Arabic script is the basis

with the other parts of the Arabic script, and with the

discovery of the Arabic script, the Arabic script, the

again involves itself in difficulties, and with the

the use of the Arabic script. As far as the Arabic script

of the Arabic script is concerned, Alexander has the

same difficulty, which most students of the religionsgeschichtliche Schule confront namely, he has forgotten, that it would be most natural for one schooled in the old faith to allow symptoms of the old way to creep into the method and language of the disputes. Also, if one were accustomed to the way of rabbinic disputes, he would allow this kind of disputation to color his own. If Jesus' disputes savored of Judaism and the rabbinic atmosphere, it was because Jesus was a child of Judaism and rabbinic disputation; it was not because these disputations were later colored as they took on form in the transmission from mouth to mouth.

Hence, in the light of the above criticism, Albertz's view reveals its weaknesses.

and difficult, when they are of the kind...

it is not possible to say that the...

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A General Approach To The Criticism of Formgeschichte.

Ludwig Koehler well concludes one of his monographs with this statement, "denn das Problem des Neuen Testaments ist nicht ein formgeschichtliches, sondern ein geschichtskritisches." (1) A careful study of one's New Testament text, a psychological study of the situation that existed in the first century before the Gospels were composed, and an evaluation of form-criticism as a workable tool in itself will bring one to Koehler's view.

The disagreement of Bultmann, Albertz, and Dibelius in their classifications impresses one that form-criticism resolves into subjectivism. It naturally does as we have no sources to indicate that the Gospels were the result of early mission sermons, and particularly that they were preached in certain forms on Gentile soil. The problem clearly is "ein geschichtskritisches."

Privatdozent Erich Fascher of Marburg states this point "Die Form allein lässt keine historischen Werturteile zu." (2) Fascher gives a three-fold classification of the Gospel material into sayings and miracles. Outside of these, form-criticism has no objectivity. That seems like steady scholarship, and, even if these forms are to be found in the Gospels, we have no reason to assume that they were consciously composed as forms. They could have arisen from the natural method employed.

(1) Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Neuen Testaments, p. 41;

(2) Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 223.

But Formgeschichte adherents collected little similarities in certain sections, and put forth a theory.

The Formgeschichte scholars deal intricately with a portion of the Synoptic material. But they have left the majority of the first three Gospels untouched. Nor have they mentioned how one should deal with the unclassified portions. Consequently, if one accepts the method of Formgeschichte, one finds himself at a loss to know what to do with a great deal of the Gospels. The method is not one which can comprehensively attempt a solution of the Synoptic Problem.

Let one go back to the heart of forms. Let one see Jesus as a teacher. Do His teachings sound as if they are forms, that would be handed down to His disciples in a stereotyped mould? Would the impression be given to His first disciples that there was one type, or several types, of preaching, or that there were forms for His various messages? Rather, as one sees the Synoptic Gospels, one is impressed that the situations, in which we see Jesus, are those which have originated out of some immediate and peculiar situation. The disciples go through a grain field on the Sabbath, they pluck a few grains, they are censured then and there, and Jesus defends them; Jesus is called to the house of Jairus hurriedly due to the daughter's illness, and then He speaks; someone asks Jesus a question regarding allegiance to Caesar and God, and Christ asks for a coin. So, it runs continuously through the Gospel records; the nature of the stories in which we find Jesus, so dominantly overflowing with the

note of spontaneity, impresses one that Jesus did not preach various series of sermons. Certainly then the unscholared disciples would not have attempted to classify the teachings of Jesus.

The disciples, in the first place, had no reason for composing forms; in the second place, the disciples were not the kind of men who were interested in the technicalities involved in making forms. They were more impressed with the experience of the risen Christ in the lives of men than in theorizing.

Preaching today in forms is not the method of extemporaneous pulpiteering; one finds no evidence elsewhere that such a procedure was practiced by individuals in the time of Jesus. So why would such a method be used by Jesus, or His followers? They knew Jesus' method better than that. The point of emphasis here is this: The early missionary preachers of Christianity were not literary men, and thus would not be qualified or interested to give their teachings and sermons in specified forms, which Albertz, Dibelius, and Bultmann consider. They probably knew of the early written fragments which they used for their preaching. If they had not used these, the early Christian teachings would have been an incongruous, incoherent, and widely variant mass of instructions and sayings. Before/A.D. the expectation of the Second Coming would have been so grossly questioned that fragmentary jottings would have been necessary if Jesus words and acts were to have unanimity.

Furthermore, the early missionaries were too concerned about giving possible converts the direct words and narratives regarding Christ; they were concerned about the truth, rather than forms. These disciples were not stylists, but passionate preachers of the Gospel of Christ.

Dibelius, Bultmann, and Albertz are certain that forms existed; but, when Bultmann says that they found their beginning in the early community teachings, and Dibelius tells that they originated in early missionary preaching on Gentile soil, and Albertz relates that they came into existence in the community debates, one is led to believe that the writers have made the material fit into their proposed forms.

A comparison of the classifications which the four main followers of Formgeschichte have made using the chronology in the Gospel of Mark, reveals the following:

<u>Mark</u>	<u>Bultmann</u>	<u>Dibelius</u>	<u>Albertz</u>
1.1-8	Legend		
1.9-11	Legend	Myth	
1.12-13	Legend		
1.15	Logia-Warning		
1.16-20	Biographical Apophthegmata	Paradigm	
1.17	Logia		
1.21-28	Healing Miracle		
1.23-27		Unpure Paradigm	
1.29-31	Healing Miracle		
1.29-38		Paradigm (?)	
1.40-45	Healing Miracle	Novelle (?)	
2.1-12	Healing Miracle	Paradigm	
2.1-3-6	Dispute- Apophthegmata		Disputes on Galilean Soil--- (<u>Versucherische</u>)
2.10	Logia-law		
2.15-17	Dispute- Apophthegmata		
2.13-17		Paradigm- Not pure	
2.17	Logia-I-Law		

<u>Mark</u>	<u>Bultmann</u>	<u>Dibelius</u>	<u>Albertz</u>
2.17	Parable		
2.18-22		Paradigm	
2.19	Parable		
2.21 f.	Parable		
2.25-26	Logia-Law		
2.27	Logia-Law		
2.23-28	Dispute	Paradigm	
	Apophthegmata		
3.1-6	Dispute	Paradigm	
	Apophthegmata		
3.4	Logia-Law		
3.22-30	Biographical		"Nichtversuch-
	Apophthegmata		erische" Dis-
			pute
3.20-31		Paradigm	
35			
3.28	Law		
3.55	Logia-I		
4.3-9	Parable		
4.21	Parable		
4.26-29	Parable		
4.30-32	Parable		
4.37-41	Nature Miracle		
5.1-21	Healing Miracle		
4.35-5.34		Novelle	
6.1-6	Biographical	Unpure	
	Apophthegmata	Paradigm	
	Logia-Law		
6.8-11		No Class	
6.17-29			
6.34-44	Nature Miracle	Novelle	
6.45-52	Nature Miracle	Novelle	
7.1-23	Dispute-		
	Apophthegmata		"Versucherische"
			Dispute about
			Connection with
			Rabbinic Tradi-
			tions
7.15	Logia-Law		
7.6-8	Logia-Law		
7.24-30	Dispute-	Jesus' Logia	
	Apophthegmata	in Frame Work	
	(?)		
7.32-37	Miracle		
8.1-9		No Class	
8.11-13			"Nichtversuch-
			erische Dis-
			pute
8.22-26	Healing Miracle	Novelle	
8.27-30	Legend	Secret Epiphanie	
9.1	Apocalyptic		
	Prophecy		

<u>Mark</u>	<u>Bultmann</u>	<u>Dibelius</u>	<u>Albertz</u>
9.2-8	Legend	Myth	
9.12-13	Apocalyptic Prophecy		
9.14-27	Healing Miracle	Novelle	
9.19	Logia-Law		
9.37	Logia-Law		
9.41-42	Logia-Law		
9.38-40	Apophthegmata- Jesus Asked		
10.2-12	Apophthegmata Question Put		Dispute about Divorce (<u>"Versucherische"</u>)
10.11 F.	Logia-Law		
10.13-16	Apophthegmata Biographical	Paradigm	
10.17-31	Dispute-	Unpure Paradigm	<u>"Nichtversuch- erische"</u> Dispute
10.29-30	Logia-Salva- tion Preaching		
10.35-45	Dispute- Apophthegmata	Paradigm (?)	
10.46-52	Healing Miracle	Legend (?)	
10.42-45	Logia-Law		
11.1-10	Legend	Epiphanie Story (Legend ??)	
11.12-14	Nature Miracle	"	
11.15-19	Biographical Apophthegmata	" "	
11.15-17		"	<u>"Versucherische"</u> Dispute (on Jerusalem Soil)
11.20-35	Dispute- Apophthegmata	" "	
11.25	Logia-Law	"	
11.27-33	Dispute- Apophthegmata	"	
12.1-9	Parable		
12.13-17		Paradigm	
12.18-27	Apophthegmata	Unpure Paradigm	
12.23-37	Logia-Law		
12.13-40			<u>"Versucherische"</u> Dispute (On Jer- usalem Soil)
12.28-34	Apophthegmata- Dispute		
12-41-44		Frame for Jesus' Words	
13.5-32	Apocalyptic Prophecy		<u>Bertram</u>
13.28-29	Parable		
13.34-37	Parable		14.1 - 15.41
13.33-37	Logia-Warning		Cult Legend
14.3-9	Biographical Apophthegmata	Unpure Paradigm	

<u>Mark</u>	<u>Bultmann</u>	<u>Dibelius</u>	<u>Albertz</u>
14.1-			
15.41	Legend		
16.1-8	Legend	Myth	

A glance at this table results in showing how subjective and arbitrary the problem of making classifications in Formgeschichte really is. When Bultmann calls Mark 11.12-14 a Nature Miracle and Dibelius designates it as an Epiphanic Story, with the possibility of its being a Legend, it seems as though someone is wrong, if not both. Again, as in Mark 6. 34-44, Bultmann refers to this section as a Nature Miracle and Dibelius calls it a Novel. Here and there, one sees some agreement among the various writers mentioned, but usually where Myths and Legends are concerned. Bertram, Bultmann, and Dibelius all call Mark 14.1-16.8 in its two sections a Legend, while Bultmann and Bertram agree upon 14.1-15.41 as a Legend, while Bultmann and Dibelius believe that 16.1-8 is a Legend, - and Myths and Legends are not to be considered as forms. Throughout, there is so little agreement upon classification, and just as little agreement concerning the selection of the material, which is worthy to be called form-material, that the whole problem of calling various sections by certain form-names lacks unity, and makes one realize that whatever conclusions one may arrive at, they will have disagreement

and be lacking in objectivity of material.

Ludwig Koehler says, "The question is whether or not the traditions are so elastic as to permit them to be classified simply and unconditionally according to specific forms". (1) Dibelius and Bultmann and the others would say that the material could be put into forms, since the tradition was so flexible.

But Koehler goes on to say regarding this, "We question whether the interest to produce specific literary forms in the handling of tradition did have free play. A pure form is possible only where the narrator is not hampered by tradition." (2) If forms resulted, and they had not been hampered by tradition it would naturally presuppose that the material originally was form-material. But it is quite unreasonable to attempt an hypothesis which would assert that the teachings and words of Jesus first went out among the early disciples in a form-manner.

Furthermore, Koehler says, "Dibelius shifts the stress of the narratives from the point on which the evangelists place it to another which makes the story appear to be a novel...The emphasis is transformed from the point where the traditional value of the narrative becomes clear, to the point where interest in the novelistic form presses into the foreground. The Gospel accounts... are not all dominated by the norm of literary forms-----

(1) "The Meaning and Possibilities of Formgeschichte," Journal of Religion, October, 1928, p. 603;

((2) Ibid, p. 614.

They are not so dominated because the interest in literary form always began to operate with a given tradition, and because, as we have shown, where traditional material is subjected to the interest in literary form, this interest cannot operate with full power and freedom, since the tradition itself allows such an interest to make itself effective only within very restricted limits." (1)

Dr. Burton S. Easton sees some value in Formgeschichte, but he is intensely aware of its limitations. He remarks, "We must realize that form-criticism as a historical tool has a very limited utility. It can tell us that the manner of phrase is conventional, and it can explain the conventions... But...it cannot give us even the relative ages of the special forms it identifies, and the absolute ages lie totally beyond its reach. Nor can it aid our historical estimate of the contents of any story. Form-criticism, by its very nature, cannot distinguish between a dialogue artificially built up from a striking phrase and a conventional abbreviation of a precise record of a conversation in which the same phrase appeared. It cannot distinguish between a popular legend of a healing and a narrative, told in a popular way, of a successful use of psychotherapy. And so we are obliged to say: Form-criticism may prepare the way for historical criticism, but form-criticism is not historical criticism."

(1) Ibid, p. 616

(The italics belong to the writer of this dissertation). (1)

If one is to follow the way of Formgeschichte, then it seems that one must discount the real historic value of Jesus' sayings. Bultmann probably foresaw that his method might result in skepticism, when he said, "Die Untersuchung der Jesusworte führt also in eine grosse Unsicherheit hinein, aber sie endigt nicht in völliger Skepsis...Aber wenn die Arbeit nach klaren Methoden getan wird, kann sie nie zu völliger Skepsis führen. Auf eines muss man freilich verzichten: der Charakter Jesu, das anschauliche Bild seiner Persönlichkeit und seines Lebens ist für uns nicht mehr erkennbar. Aber das Wichtigere ist oder wird immer klarer erkennbar: der Inhalt seiner Verkündigung." (2)

But, such a viewpoint does not satisfy most seekers of Christian truth. In fact, Bultmann, in his methodical employment of Formgeschichte, emerged with the statement that Jesus was a supreme Rabbi, - but nothing more. "By your fruits ye shall know scholarship" might be used as a modern proverb in the realm of Biblical criticism. No scholar has the right to cast out certain sayings of Jesus as ungenuine, and retain others as valid, because certain forms suggest such a procedure. It seems, if Formgeschichte is carried to its full limit one is lead unhealthy to scepticism regarding the truths of the Synoptic Gospels.

(1) The Gospel before the Gospels, pp. 80-81;

(2) Die Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien, pp. 32, 33.

If one is to find value in Formgeschichte, then it seems that one must be prepared to cast aside some of the historical significance of historical religion; it would be difficult not to avoid a certain degree of skepticism. Take for example, a story today, with any conversation in it, and let it pass from mouth to mouth, with nothing written down, for only one year. If the comparison of the same story, as first told and last told in the same year, were to be made one would see such a difference that one would hardly recognize the stories as being one and the same story. Now, apply this to the words of Jesus, handed from mouth to mouth for thirty year, finally set into certain forms of preaching. It seems that the historicity would ^{be} greatly reduced, even in spite of the retentiveness of the Oriental mind in the first century. Thirty years is a long time; people hear differently and transmit differently; who would give the right repetition of the words spoken by Jesus, thirty years later?

So, on the one hand, if one believes in Formgeschichte, then one must be fair enough to say, that so far as the historicity of Jesus' words are concerned, (although not so much, of course, in regard to narratives), there is little of reliable value. Forms are not proof of genuineness; they cannot determine the historical value of the text. Formgeschichte cannot become Geschichtskritik. Erich Fascher saw this, "Die Evangelien sind geschichtliche Quellen und müssen in erster Linie historisch-kritisch betrachtet werden." (1)

(1) Die formgeschichtliche Methode, p. 227.

It was in 1914 that the first volume of the Journal of the History of Ideas was published. This journal was prepared by a group of young men of the Harvard University, who were interested in the history of ideas. It was the first of a series of journals which were to be published by the Harvard University Press. The first volume was published in 1914, and the second in 1915. The third volume was published in 1916, and the fourth in 1917. The fifth volume was published in 1918, and the sixth in 1919. The seventh volume was published in 1920, and the eighth in 1921. The ninth volume was published in 1922, and the tenth in 1923. The eleventh volume was published in 1924, and the twelfth in 1925. The thirteenth volume was published in 1926, and the fourteenth in 1927. The fifteenth volume was published in 1928, and the sixteenth in 1929. The seventeenth volume was published in 1930, and the eighteenth in 1931. The nineteenth volume was published in 1932, and the twentieth in 1933. The twenty-first volume was published in 1934, and the twenty-second in 1935. The twenty-third volume was published in 1936, and the twenty-fourth in 1937. The twenty-fifth volume was published in 1938, and the twenty-sixth in 1939. The twenty-seventh volume was published in 1940, and the twenty-eighth in 1941. The twenty-ninth volume was published in 1942, and the thirtieth in 1943. The thirty-first volume was published in 1944, and the thirty-second in 1945. The thirty-third volume was published in 1946, and the thirty-fourth in 1947. The thirty-fifth volume was published in 1948, and the thirty-sixth in 1949. The thirty-seventh volume was published in 1950, and the thirty-eighth in 1951. The thirty-ninth volume was published in 1952, and the fortieth in 1953. The forty-first volume was published in 1954, and the forty-second in 1955. The forty-third volume was published in 1956, and the forty-fourth in 1957. The forty-fifth volume was published in 1958, and the forty-sixth in 1959. The forty-seventh volume was published in 1960, and the forty-eighth in 1961. The forty-ninth volume was published in 1962, and the fiftieth in 1963. The fifty-first volume was published in 1964, and the fifty-second in 1965. The fifty-third volume was published in 1966, and the fifty-fourth in 1967. The fifty-fifth volume was published in 1968, and the fifty-sixth in 1969. The fifty-seventh volume was published in 1970, and the fifty-eighth in 1971. The fifty-ninth volume was published in 1972, and the sixtieth in 1973. The sixty-first volume was published in 1974, and the sixty-second in 1975. The sixty-third volume was published in 1976, and the sixty-fourth in 1977. The sixty-fifth volume was published in 1978, and the sixty-sixth in 1979. The sixty-seventh volume was published in 1980, and the sixty-eighth in 1981. The sixty-ninth volume was published in 1982, and the seventieth in 1983. The seventy-first volume was published in 1984, and the seventy-second in 1985. The seventy-third volume was published in 1986, and the seventy-fourth in 1987. The seventy-fifth volume was published in 1988, and the seventy-sixth in 1989. The seventy-seventh volume was published in 1990, and the seventy-eighth in 1991. The seventy-ninth volume was published in 1992, and the eightieth in 1993. The eighty-first volume was published in 1994, and the eighty-second in 1995. The eighty-third volume was published in 1996, and the eighty-fourth in 1997. The eighty-fifth volume was published in 1998, and the eighty-sixth in 1999. The eighty-seventh volume was published in 2000, and the eighty-eighth in 2001. The eighty-ninth volume was published in 2002, and the ninetieth in 2003. The ninety-first volume was published in 2004, and the ninety-second in 2005. The ninety-third volume was published in 2006, and the ninety-fourth in 2007. The ninety-fifth volume was published in 2008, and the ninety-sixth in 2009. The ninety-seventh volume was published in 2010, and the ninety-eighth in 2011. The ninety-ninth volume was published in 2012, and the hundredth in 2013.

Formgeschichte can only attempt to show us forms, but it cannot judge their historical significance. Only historical criticism has the right to criticize the historicity of the Gospel records.

British scholarship has been reluctant in accepting Formgeschichte with open arms. Vincent Taylor makes an interesting comment regarding this point, "There is no doubt that these questions are being patiently studied. From such indications as have appeared, it does not seem likely that British scholars will consent to the abandonment of the Markan chronological framework, although on the other hand they will welcome classification and description of different types of Gospel narratives, put forward by Dr. Martin Dibelius and others, and will find in these studies a fresh pathway into the thicket of Gospel origins." (1)

But, it will be only "a fresh pathway into the thicket of Gospel origins"; it will be a "pathway" and not a main road to a great destination. It will not lead to historical truths, because historical criticism alone has the right of such guidance.

(1) "The Synoptic Gospels and Some Recent British Criticism", Journal of Religion, April, 1928, p.225.

CHAPTER FIVE.

CONSIDERATION OF A POSSIBLE SUPPLEMENT TO FORMGESCHICHTE.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONSIDERATION OF A

PROBABLE DEVELOPMENT

IN THE FUTURE

Foreword to Chapter Five.

The writer is convinced that a certain type of Formgeschichte is prevalent in the Synoptic Gospels. The chapter on the appreciation of Formgeschichte designated that forms of a content nature could be discerned, that doublets gave one a suggestion that forms were inherent, that certain form-material probably pointed to the method of Jesus. Formgeschichte, not being a means of historical criticism, cannot say whether this material actually took on forms through a process, or whether the sayings and actions of Jesus were of the form-nature which the text shows.

Formgeschichte can give one suggestions in regard to a solution of the Synoptic Problem, but it is not the only means. The fact that the Formgeschichte scholars do not classify all the material of the first three Gospels emphasizes its lack of comprehensiveness and inclusiveness. Consequently, there is need of a supplementary means in the solution, if it is to be satisfactory and coherent.

The majority of scholars and patristic tradition point to early written documents behind both Mark and Q. Furthermore, scholarship and tradition vote quite universally for Mark and Peter as being behind the major portion of the Second Gospel. If these facts be accepted, Formgeschichte loses the grip it would have if oral tradition was the only means of transmission for the first forty years after Jesus' death. Some kind of form effect might creep in during the first decade,

but it would be slight, since the disciples and followers of Jesus would practically all be living around Jerusalem at that time, and would give their approval to material that was compiled. On the other hand, if the Gospels were not compiled and written down until about 70 A.D., it appears that there would be much opportunity for forms to creep into the material as it was orally transmitted.

The strong advocates of Formgeschichte today believe in oral transmission until almost 70 A.D., and on such a long-time verbal tradition they feel their position justified. But, if one can find justification for saying that early written documents lay behind the Synoptic Gospels, and that most of the section (i.e., the Gospel of Mark), which the Formgeschichte scholars are most concerned about, comes from Mark and Peter, the position of Albertz, Bertram, Bultmann, and Dibelius is weakened.

Consequently, this chapter will attempt to show the reasonableness of written documents lying behind a major portion of the Synoptic material. However, one must allow that, even though written documents formed the basis for the Synoptic Gospels, there would also be an element of orally transmitted material that would creep in, and that some of this material might assume forms. Oral tradition (some of which could be "form-stories") and written documents supplement each other, as one attempts to find a solution for the Synoptic Problem; but the larger amount of the material behind the Synoptic Gospels was early written material.

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The Writer's View of the Synoptic Problem.

If Formgeschichte is applied to only the first three Gospels, it resolves itself ^{into} an attempted solution of the Synoptic Problem. One of the main points of controversy regarding the Synoptic Problem is whether oral tradition or written documents formed "the Gospel before the Gospels." Formgeschichte votes for the former, as it bases its theory on oral tradition plus the forms which the oral tradition took through "conscious literary art". In giving his view of the Synoptic Problem, the writer offers it as a possible supplement to Formgeschichte.

Dr. Hayes has pointed out the similarities of the Synoptic Gospels: (1) 1. The language of the different Gospels is relatively the same, where the same incident is being related; 2. unusual words, particularly in the context in which they are found, appear paralleled; 3. a rather unusual method in peculiar form is employed; 4. chronological order is held to in relating the same order of events; 5. material, which could be put into a time of forty days, is used in the different Gospels.

Many differences, as well, present themselves: 1. Sentences and paragraphs are transposed in relating the sayings and incidents of Jesus' life; 2. obviously queer omissions are noticed in the Gospels; 3. the same incident or saying is given differently; 4. long narratives are in-

(1) The Synoptic Problem, pp. 12-38.

The writer's view of the Synoptic Problem

If Formalism is applied to only the first three Gospels, it resolves itself into an attempted solution of the Synoptic Problem. One of the main points of controversy regarding the Synoptic Problem is whether oral tradition or written documents formed "the Gospel before the Gospels." Formalism votes for the former, as it bases its theory on oral tradition plus the forms which the oral tradition took through "conscious literary art." In giving his view of the Synoptic Problem, the writer offers it as a possible alternative to Formalism.

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Many differences, as well, present themselves: 1. Sentences and paragraphs are transposed in relating the same incidents or Jesus' life; 2. obviously or not, omissions are noticed in the Gospels; 3. the same incident or saying is given differently; 4. long narratives are in-

serted occasionally; 5. we are kept from wrong conclusions in one Gospel by conclusions made in another; 6. contradiction is noticed.

With these similarities and differences before one, the problem naturally takes on difficulties. Zahn well saw them when he said, "Up to the present time no one of the investigations of the Synoptic Problem can be said to have produced results which have been generally accepted; or that they can lay well grounded claims to such acceptance. In one point only is there agreement; namely, that it is impossible to set forth the history of the origin of the first three Gospels in a satisfactory manner on the basis of reliable reports and trustworthy observations; that, gaps remain in our knowledge based upon these two classes of data, which must be filled up by conjecture." (1)

The task here concerning the Synoptic Problem, and especially its relation to Formgeschichte, is that covering the possibility of written documents or oral tradition behind the first three Gospels. Certain arguments point toward oral transmission; namely, there are variations in the three Gospels which indicate oral transmitting; transposition of words and sentences; repetition or transferring of short expressions and favorite sayings of one evangelist; the retentiveness of the Oriental memory; the objection of

(1) Introduction to the New Testament, p. 418.

asserted occasionally; 3. we are kept from wrong conclusions in one Gospel by considerations made in another; 4. consistency is noticed.

With these similarities and differences before me, the problem naturally takes on difficulties. I am well aware that when he said, "Up to the present time no one of the investigations of the Synoptic Problem can be said to have produced results which have been generally accepted; or that they can lay well grounded claims to such acceptance. In one point only is there agreement; namely, that it is impossible to set forth the history of the origin of the first three Gospels in a satisfactory manner on the basis of reliable facts and trustworthy observations; that, says further in our knowledge based upon these two classes of data, which must be filled up by conjecture." (1)

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the Jew to put anything into writing and the oral transmission method of the rabbinic circles; the first century with its eschatological hope thought nothing about writing down what had been said or done by Christ; Jesus gave His material in an oral manner,- it was His method.

As one considers the reasons for presupposing oral transmission of the Gospels, one is partially convinced of the worth of such reasons. Yet, there are equally valid arguments against oral transmission: It seems almost improbable that an oral tradition could have been formulated; we have no evidence that catechists existed in the early Church; the Oriental memory, well developed as it may have been, was nevertheless not infallible; the prophets and scribes of the Old Testament had at least set an example for the use of written documents; at a later date writing was employed; oral transmission would find it difficult to account for the unusual literary phenomena found in the various Gospels. Hence, the arguments against oral transmission seem to answer the arguments in favor of such a theory.

The writer believes in the theory which favors early written documents. He feels himself justified in doing so because the details in the Gospels are too definite and precise for oral tradition to retain and hand down; the three Gospels themselves are too similar,-oral tradition would have a tendency to diverge more than the texts show us; the disappointment in the eschatological hope

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would have given many reasons to believe that Jesus would not return soon, and that, if the teachings and traditions of His Person were to be preserved it would be necessary that some notation be made; it would be the easiest manner in which to spread the "Good News" and muster faith for the new believers; it would be the only way which would assure unanimity in the Christian teachings to the various groups.

In the first place he believes that the great disciple, Peter, plus an eye-witness, Mark, stand quite directly behind the composition of the Second Gospel. Furthermore, it seems justifiable that the two-document hypothesis be accepted, since textual similarities between Mark and Matthew and Luke point to a common source, Mark; and then, as one compares the first and third Gospels, one finds material which is common to the two. Hence, he believes that Q accounts for the majority of the material in Luke and Matthew which is peculiar to them.

From an analysis made in A. Huck's Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien, one finds that the total number of passages in the three Gospels, counting but one passage in double and triple tradition, amounts to 229. When one analyzes them, he finds the following results:

Mark.

Total passages-110.

Passages found in Matthew and Luke also-85.

Passages common with Matthew-101.

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In the first place he believes that the first disci-
ples, Peter, John, and the others, were, at least partly dis-
tinct from the congregation of the Second Gospel. Further-
more, it seems probable that the two documents represent
the same material, since certain similarities between Mark
and Matthew and Luke point to a common source, Mark; and
then, as one compares the first and second Gospels, one
finds material which is common to the two. Hence, he be-
lieves that the accounts for the activity of the apostles
in Luke and Matthew which is peculiar to them.

From an analysis made in A. Froh's Synoptic Gospel

Evangelical, one finds that the total number of
passages in the three Gospels, counting but one passage
in double and triple tradition, amounts to 528. From this
analysis then, he finds the following results:

Mark

Total passages-110.

Passages found in Matthew and Luke alone-40.

Passages common with Matthew-101.

Passages common with Luke-88.

Passages peculiar to Mark-1.

Matthew.

Total passages-188.

Passages found in Mark and Luke-85.

Passages common with Mark-101.

Passages common with Luke, not in Mark-49.

Passages common with Mark, not in Luke-14.

Passages peculiar to Matthew-24.

Luke.

Total passages-183.

Passages found in Mark and Matthew-85.

Passages common with Mark-88.

Passages in Mark, not in Matthew-5.

Passages in Matthew, not in Mark-49.

Passages peculiar to Luke-41.

Looking further into the problem one finds (1) that 816 verses out of the 1068 verses in Matthew, and 798 verses out of the 1149 verses in Luke indicate the use of Mark. That is, about three-fourths of Matthew and two-thirds of Luke is found to be Markan material. Furthermore, when the material of Matthew and Luke is Markan material, the order is also Markan. Also, Luke and Matthew have smaller agreement, when the Markan source is not employed. Obviously, this points to a written Mark as the source behind them in the parts which re-

(1) Oxford Studies, p.30.

Passages common with Luke-88.
Passages peculiar to Mark-1.

Matthew.

Total passages-188.
Passages found in Mark and Luke-88.
Passages common with Mark-10.
Passages common with Luke, not in Mark-48.
Passages common with Mark, not in Luke-14.
Passages peculiar to Matthew-84.

Luke.

Total passages-185.
Passages found in Mark and Matthew-88.
Passages common with Mark-88.
Passages in Mark, not in Matthew-8.
Passages in Matthew, not in Mark-48.
Passages peculiar to Luke-41.

Looking further into the problem one finds (1) that the verses out of the 1088 verses in Matthew, and 788 verses out of the 1148 verses in Luke indicate the use of Mark. That is, about three-fourths of Matthew and two-thirds of Luke is found to be Markan material. Therefore, when the material of Matthew and Luke is examined separately, the order is also Markan. Also, Luke and Matthew have similar agreements, when the Markan source is not rejected. Obviously, this points to a written form as the source behind each in the parts which re-

semble Mark.

Canon Streeter, in the fifth chapter of his remarkable book, The Four Gospels, has presented a 'four-document hypothesis', instead of the traditional 'two-document hypothesis'. He contends that this latter theory suggests that Matthew and Luke knew nothing except the sources Mark and Q, and that it over-emphasized Q. He recognizes that a reduction of the sources to the smallest number seems more scientific, but that it wanders away from the real probability; namely, that there were more sources.

In his theory Mark is noted as the Roman source while the other three sources, M, L, and Q, would come respectively from Jerusalem, Caesarea, and Antioch. The basic material for Matthew comes from Rome, Jerusalem, and Antioch; while Luke is derived from Rome, Caesarea, and Antioch. But, even if this were all true, it is obvious that Mark would still play the same role as it has played in the 'two-source theory'; namely, that of being the common source for the parallels found in Matthew and Luke which are also in Mark. Hence, the assumption of Mark as directly derived from the sources of Peter and Mark is not affected by the 'four-document hypothesis'. Only Q is dealt with differently.

W. Sanday gives one of the reasons why a written source, or direct source from Mark and Peter, for the Second Gospel is questioned by those who hold to oral tradition. He says, "And it is true that the differ-

ences between the three Gospels are of such a kind to suggest oral transmission. This has been hitherto the chief stumbling-block in the way of the acceptance of the documentary hypothesis. And it is a testimony of the strength of the arguments for the use of written materials, that the majority of scholars accept that use in spite of all apparent indications to the contrary." (1) The facts which cause this questioning are: 1. "The same or similar words used in different senses or with a different reference." (E.g., Mk. 11.3; Mt. 21.3; Mk. 4.19; Mt. 23.22; Mk. 12.20; Mt. 22.25.) 2. "Sometimes the same or similar words are assigned to different speakers." (E.g., Mk. 6.14; Mt. 14.2; Mk. 10.21; Lk. 18.22; Mt. 19.20; Mk. 15.36; Mt. 27.49.) 3. "In one gospel we sometimes have in the form of a speech what in another is part of the narrative, and in another there is a direct statement." (E.g., Mk. 5.30; Lk. 8.46; Mk. 14.1; Mt. 24.12; Mk. 14.49; Mt. 26.56; Mk. 4.21; Lk. 8.16; Mk. 8.12; Mt. 16.4). 4. "Other examples of diverse application". (E.g., Mt. 3.5; Lk. 3.3; Mk. 6.19, 20; Mt. 14.5; Mk. 6.3; Mt. 13.55; Mk. 10.18; Mt. 19.17). 5. "A special class of variations is formed by the cases of inversion of order, which are somewhat frequent". (E.g., Mt. 4.5-10; Lk. 4.5-12; Mt. 12.41, 42; Lk. 11.31, 32).

The differences do exist, but if one stops to consider the awkward way which the writer of St. Matthew or St. Luke referred to and copied St. Mark, one sees that errors were likely to occur. Rolls which were cumbersome and

(1) Studies in the Synoptic Problem, pp. 5 ff.

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application. (Lk. 1. 1-10; Mt. 1. 1-10; Mt. 1. 11-13;
10; Mt. 8. 12; Mt. 10. 41; 10. 42; 10. 43; 10. 44; 10. 45;
Mt. 14. 1; Mt. 14. 12; Mt. 14. 13; Mt. 14. 14; Mt. 14. 15;
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Mt. 22. 25; Lk. 22. 25; Mt. 22. 26; Mt. 22. 27; Mt. 22. 28;
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ment oral transmission. This has been admitted the whole
space between the three gospels are of such a kind as sur-

hard to keep open at one place were used. Consequently, a copyist would not constantly refer to the roll but would trust oftentimes to his memory as he transferred from one document to another.

Since the Gospel writers were copyists rather than historians, it is not difficult to realize that errors and dissimilarities were likely to occur. (Luke approaches the attitude of the historian more than Matthew. The fact of his interest in being with Paul on the missionary journeys as seen in the Book of Acts and his statement to Theophilus in his Gospel impress one in regard to his historical intention as a writer.) The fact that there were dissimilarities which appeared in the three Gospels points to the fact that Matthew and Luke, later writers, erred in copying, rather than that Mark, Matthew, and Luke were compiled separately from oral tradition. However, similarities which confront us in the three Gospels largely offset the fact of the differences.

There is almost universal opinion today that Mark was the prior Gospel, whether oral tradition played a vigorous role in the process of transmission, or whether written documents were early formed. Patton has given a good summary regarding the priority of Mark: Mark would not have left out so much material, if he were quoting from Matthew and Luke. Mark does not seem to be attempting to make his Gospel a contracted one, as he has the longer narrative in practically every instance where he

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good summary regarding the priority of Mark: Mark would
not have left out so much material, if he were quoting
from Matthew and Luke. Mark does not seem to be attempt-
ing to make his Gospel a condensed one, as he has the
longer narrative in practically every instance where he

is paralleled by the other evangelists. He also uses expressions, which are less polished and more unliterary than those Matthew and Luke use. His constructions are broken and lacking in completion. Mark has repeated expressions, sometimes Matthew using one and Luke the other. While Matthew and Luke use diverse conjunctions, Mark will adhere to the same one. Mark translates many Aramaic words into Greek. His Gospel contains a more spirited and vivid tone. (1)

Canon Streeter advances different arguments, yet as valid and necessary, for the priority of Mark: 1. Matthew reproduces ninety per cent of the subject-matter of Mark, in language very largely identical with that of Mark; Luke does the same for more than one-half of Mark. 2. In any average section, which one will find in the three Gospels, the majority of the words used by Mark are reproduced by Luke and Matthew either alternately or all together. 3. The relative order of incidents and sections in Mark prevails; where either leaves Mark, the other usually is found to follow the Second Gospel. 4. Mark's phrases, which might offend, are toned down by Matthew and Luke. 5. The way in which Marcan and non-Marcan material is distributed in Matthew and Luke respectively looks as if each had Marcan material before himself in a single document, and was faced with the problem of combining this

(1) Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, pp. 13-16.

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peat the same one. Mark translates many Greek words
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Canon Spurgeon advances different arguments, yet as
valid and necessary, for the priority of Mark: 1. Mark's
reproduces almost verbatim of the subject-matter of Luke,
in language very largely identical with that of Luke;
Luke takes the same two parts and half of Mark. 2. In
any written Gospel, which was written in the same
Gospel, the majority of the words used by Mark and re-
peated by Luke and Matthew either identically or with
slight variations. The relative order of incidents and sections in Mark
is preserved; where either leaves Mark, the other usually is
found to follow the second Gospel. 3. Mark's Gospel,
which might offend, are taken down by Matthew and Luke.
4. The way in which Mark and non-Markan material is
distributed in Matthew and Luke respectively looks as if
each had taken material before himself in a single hour-
ning, and was faced with the problem of condensing his

material with other sources. (1)

The date at which the Gospel of Mark was written has a great bearing upon the problem of oral transmission. The traditional view as stated by E.P. Gould is, "Tradition says that it was written after the death of Peter and Paul. There is one decisive mark of time in the Gospel itself. In the eschatological discourse, attention is called to the sign given by Jesus of the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, which leads us to infer that the Gospel was written before that time, but when the event was impending. This would fix the time as about 70 a.d." (2)

Some of the more courageous critics (e.g., Volkmar) did not accept the inference regarding the eschatological discourse and put the date as 73 or later. According to Moffatt the following schedule shows the variation of opinion by the scholars regarding Mark's date:

Before 70	70-100	After 100
Belser (c.44),	c.70:Carpenter,	Hoekstra (100),
Birks (c.48),	Menzies, Feine,	Kostlin (100-110),
Allen (44-49),	W. Haupt.	Keim (115-120),
Hitzig (55-57),	70-80:Volkmar(73),	S. Davidson (120),
Gloag (-55),	Renan (76), Bey-	Usener (120-130),
Mill (63)	schlag, Wright,	Baur (130f.).
64-67:Bartlet,	Wernle, Bacon,	
Schafer,	Wellhausen,	
Kuppers, Schanz,	von Soden,	
Robinson (65),	Loisy (75). O.	
Zimmerman (66),	Schmiedel (80),	
Zahn, J. Weiss.	Goguel (75-85),	
65-70:Abbott,	Montefiore.	
Alford, W. Bruck-	80-90:Holsten,	

(1) The Four Gospels, pp. 151-152;

(2) International Critical Commentary on Mark, p. xvii.

material with other sources. (1)

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Gospel was written before that time, but when the event

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Some of the more conspicuous critics (e.g., Wellman) did

not accept the inference regarding the eschatological dis-

course and put the date as 70 or later. According to Hol-

mes the following schedule shows the variation of opin-

ion by the scholars regarding Mark's date:

Before 70	70-100	After 100
Salmon (c. 45)	c. 70: Wellman	Wellman (100)
Alford (c. 45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (100-110)
Alford (44-45)	W. Bauer	Wellman (110-120)
Alford (45-50)	70-80: Wellman (70)	W. Bauer (120)
Alford (45-50)	Wellman (70)	Wellman (120-130)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (130-140)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (140-150)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (150-160)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (160-170)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (170-180)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (180-190)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (190-200)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (200-210)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (210-220)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (220-230)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (230-240)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (240-250)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (250-260)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (260-270)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (270-280)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (280-290)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (290-300)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (300-310)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (310-320)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (320-330)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (330-340)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (340-350)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (350-360)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (360-370)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (370-380)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (380-390)
Alford (45)	Wellman, Wellman	Wellman (390-400)

(1) The Four Gospels, pp. 181-182.

(2) International Critical Commentary on Mark, p. viii.

Before 7070-100

ner, Stanton,
Swete, Salmond,
Wendt, Weiss,
Harnack, Maclean,
Barth, Peake,
Hofmann, Burkitt.

Rovers (c.90),
Bleek."

.....(1)

Moffatt himself says, "The internal evidence of Mark corroborates upon the whole the view that it represents a final version of the Ur-Markus composed shortly after the events of a.d. 60-70." (2)

Loisy makes the following comment regarding the dating of the Second Gospel, "Il est fort possible et même très probable que cette source, comme les Logia, soit antérieure à la mort des apôtres Pierre et Paul; il est possible également qu'elle ait été écrite en araméen et à Jérusalem; mais la rédaction du second Evangile est certainement postérieure à la mort des apôtres et sans doute aussi à la ruine de Jérusalem, bien qu' on ne puisse guère la faire descendre beaucoup après l'an 70. Le souvenir de Paul, de son activité, des obstacles qu'il avait rencontrés, était encore tout récent. On peut donc rapporter approximativement la composition de Marc à l'an 75." (3)

The bulk of scholarship points to the date as being before 70 A.D., although most of them would place the date as hovering near 70. When one considers all the material and evidence pro and con, one is confined in his view regarding the date of the Second Gospel to two events: (1) The Fall of Jeru-

Introduction to the New Testament, (1) p. 213; (2) p. 212;
(3) Les Evangiles Synoptiques, Tome I, p. 119.

salem; (2) the death of Peter. It is but reasonable to assert that the book was written in some form before Peter's death, and necessary to say that it was written before the Fall of Jerusalem. If Papias' tradition regarding the fact of Mark's copying down what Peter related be true, - and there is no reason to assert that it is untrue, - Mark must have made some kind of a narrative ~~with~~ the aged disciples ~~aid~~ before the latter died. Furthermore, the evidence regarding the writing of Mark after 70 cannot be determined internally.

According to Dr. Benjamin W. Bacon, "The comparative unanimity which formerly prevailed concerning Synoptic literature, or Mark and its satellite, has of late been rudely broken. We may no longer assume the Pauline Epistles to be typical of the missionary age of the Church and antecedent to the Gospels. The assertion is now made that the Synoptic Gospels themselves, or at least those which bear the names of Mark and Luke, and not merely the Aramaic sources, fall well within the lifetime of Paul. The fulcrum of this overturn in critical opinion is found in the so-called "We-document", the travel-diary of a companion of Paul embedded in the later chapters of Acts. The writing of this diary was clearly earlier than the death of Paul. If it could be shown that the author of the present Book of Acts was the Diarist himself, if in addition it could further be taken as the explanation of his omission of a reference to the death of Paul, that Acts as whole was composed before the

... (2) the death of Peter. It is not unreasonable to as-
sert that the book was written in some form before Peter's
death, and necessary to say that it was written before the
Fall of Jerusalem. If Peter's tradition regarding the fact
of Mark's copying down what Peter related to him, - and
there is no reason to suspect that it is untrue, - Mark must
have made some kind of a narrative with the said tradition
before the latter died. Furthermore, the evidence regard-
ing the writing of Mark after 70 cannot be taken into con-
sideration.

According to Dr. Benjamin W. Bacon, "The comparative
study of the Gospels reveals considerable agreement in
order, of Mark and its sources, has of late been widely
accepted. As yet no scholar assumes the Pauline Epistles to be
typical of the missionary age of the Church and antecedent
to the Gospels. The assumption is now made that the Syn-
optic Gospels themselves, or at least those which bear the
names of Mark and Luke, are not merely the products of the
first half of the first century of Paul. The influence of this
viewpoint in critical opinion is found in the so-called "dis-
cussion," the travel-diary of a companion of Paul, embedded
in the later chapters of Acts. The writing of this diary
was clearly earlier than the death of Paul. It is well to
note that the author of the present book of Acts was the
Gospel himself. It is evident it could not have been
as the explanation of his omission of a reference to the
death of Paul, that Acts as a whole was composed before the

martyrdom, including chapters 1-15, which seem to be based upon Aramaic sources, then not only "First Acts", but the 'former treatise' to which its author refers (Acts 1-1), must be of even more primitive date. Moreover, we must go still further back for the origin of Mark, whose employment by the author of the 'former treatise' admits of no question." (1)

Dr. Bacon has well stated the actual situation; yet he himself is one who places Mark at a late date, sometimes between 70-100. Harnack conjectures the date for Mark as being between 45 and 65, rather than 65-85, since Acts would be written before Paul died. Maurice Jones summarizes Harnack's attitude in saying that he (Harnack) "insists that the reason why this book (Acts) closes so abruptly and unsatisfactorily is that St. Luke must have died towards the close of the two years the Apostle spent in 'his own hired dwelling', and had, therefore, no opportunity of completing his narrative and ending it with the story of St. Paul's trial and death at Rome." (2) Luke had Mark before him when he wrote his Gospel; hence, Mark must have been written about 50 A.D.

Allen, (in his Introduction to the New Testament, by Allen and Grensted), believes the Aramaic version of Mark was written in 44, and that the Greek version was com-

(1) Gospel of Mark, p.16;

(2) The Four Gospels, p. 17.

paraphrase, including chapters 1-10, which seem to be based upon Aramaic sources, then not only "first Acts", but the 'latest treatise' to which its author refers (Acts 1-11), must be of even more primitive date. Moreover, we must go still further back for the origin of Mark, whose employment by the author of the 'former treatise' admits of no question." (1)

Dr. Bacon has well stated the actual situation; yet he himself is one who places Mark at a late date, somewhere between 70-100. Harnack conjectures the date for Mark as being between 45 and 60, rather than 65-85, since Acts would be written before Paul died. Benedict Jones summarizes Harnack's attitude in saying that he (Harnack) "insists that the reason why this book (Acts) closes so abruptly and unsatisfactorily is that St. Luke must have died towards the close of the two years the apostle spent in 'his own hired dwelling', and had, therefore, no opportunity of completing his narrative and ending it with the story of St. Paul's trial and death at Rome." (2) Luke had Mark before him when he wrote his Gospel; hence, Mark must have been written about 50 A.D.

Allen, (in his Introduction to the New Testament, by Allen and Strobel), believes the Aramaic version of Mark was written in 45, and that the Greek version was composed

(1) Gospel of Mark, p. 104.
(2) The Four Gospels, p. IV.

pleted in 50. Professor C.C. Torrey in his Aramaic Origin of the Gospels claims that Mark in its present form had appeared by 40 A.D. .

It is interesting to note the early date that the earlier scholars held for the composition of the Second Gospel. "The date of the composition of the Second Gospel has been given variously from the earliest time, and this uncertainty seems to be due to a failure to distinguish between canonical Mark and earlier editions of the same work. The Paschal Chronicle places it as early as A.D. 40, and Eusebius assigns it to the third year of Claudius (A.D. 43). Others again, like Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria, say that it was written after St. Peter's arrival at Rome (A.D. 63). But these are not agreed, for Clement speaks of the Gospel as being in existence during Peter's lifetime, while Irenaeus says that it was written 'after his departure'. This conflict of statement is probably due to the fact that the different authorities had different editions before them when they wrote." (1)

The writer of this dissertation favors about 40 A.D. as the date for the writing of the sources for the Gospel of Mark. Later these fragments were formed into the Gospel of Mark by Mark who had seen and heard the Lord, and who had the help of Peter.

If the Lord was crucified in 33 or 29 A.D., or at

(1) Holdsworth, Gospel Origins, p. 129.

placed in 50. Professor G. F. Torrey in his Annals Entomological Society of America 1901, Vol. 1, p. 100, had suggested by 40 A.D.

It is interesting to note the early date that the earliest specimens held for the possession of the Museum. The date of the acquisition of the Museum collection has been given variously from the earliest date, and this uncertainty seems to be due to a failure to distinguish between geological work and earlier relations of the same work. The Museum Collection is as early as A.D. 1793, and includes as far as the fossil form of Clanania (A.D. 1793). Others again, like Clanania and Clanania of Alaska, say that it was written after 1793. Peter's arrival at home (A.D. 1793). The name was not recorded, for Clanania was the name of the fossil in existence during Peter's lifetime, while Clanania says that it was written after his departure. This conflict of statements is probably due to the fact that the different authorities had different opinions before Peter when they wrote. (1)

The writer of this investigation favors about 40 A.D. as the date for the arrival of the name for the fossil of work. Peter's name was found into the Museum of Clanania by Peter and even named the fossil, and who had the help of Peter. If the name was provided in 1793 or 1794, or as

some time in between those dates, it seems that a record of some kind would have been made, especially as soon as the Second Coming flame had died away, and the people realized that the Lord's Coming was not so soon as they first had thought. Then, also, the preaching in the various Churches would not be uniform, so that the followers would see the great need for having records made through written documents. Even though the inner group of Christ was not one composed of intellectually keen men with literary ability, they were consecrated men. One who lives twenty centuries later has no conception what the Lord's presence must have meant to the disciples, such as Peter and John. It seems inconsistent to believe that they would leave unwritten the evidence **they** had concerning Jesus' teachings, sayings, and actions. To consider the problem otherwise does not seem consistent with human nature, especially when it has been touched by Jesus.

It is significant to notice the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel regarding Peter's confession, the attitude of Christ following that confession, and His instruction to the disciples:

"13. When Jesus came into the coasts of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Who do men say that I the Son of Man **am**? 14. And they said, Some say that **thou** art John the Baptist: some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets. 15. He saith unto them, But who say **ye** that I am? 16. And Simon Peter answered and said,

some time in between those dates, it seems that a report of some kind would have been made, especially as soon as the Second Coming time had died away, and the people realized that the Lord's coming was not so soon as they first had thought. Then, also, the preaching in the various churches would not be uniform, so that the religious would see the great need for having records made through written documents. Even though the great group of Christ was not as composed of intellectually men with literary ability, they were connected men. One who lived twenty centuries later has no conception what the Lord's presence must have meant to the disciples, such as Peter and John. It seems probable that to believe that they would have neglected the evidence they had concerning Jesus' teaching, actions, and words. To consider the problem otherwise does not seem consistent with human nature, especially when it has been touched by Jesus.

It is significant to notice the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel regarding Peter's confession, the words of Jesus following that confession, and his instruction to the disciples:

"16. When Jesus was in the coasts of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Who do men say that I am? And they said, Some say that thou art Jesus the Son of David; some, Elias; and others, one of the prophets. 17. He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? 18. And Simon Peter answered and said,

Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God..... 20. Then charged he his disciples that they should tell no man that he was Jesus the Christ. 21. From that time forth began he to shew unto his disciples that he must go unto Jerusalem..."

The confession of Peter must have given to Jesus a strengthened realization of His Messiahship, in view of the fact that His disciples (or, at least one of them) saw Him as the Messiah. But undoubtedly the disciples did not realize what the Messiah, as Jesus meant, was to be. Jesus Himself probably knew also the mistaken Messiah-idea which the disciples held. They were probably thinking of the Messiah which the Jews had long hoped for, one who would be a material Messiah that could free them from all oppression and poverty. Consequently, Jesus saw the necessity of taking the disciples aside in order that He might correct their mistaken idea and show them that He was to be a Messiah who already had begun to see the Cross not far away.

But, regardless of the interpretation which one may put upon these passages, the fact remains that Jesus took His disciples apart for the purpose of instructing them that He was to go to Jerusalem and to impress upon them the fact that His earthly reign was not ^{to} be one of great length. Already He undoubtedly saw the beginning of the end and realized the necessity of teaching His disciples concerning the kind of Messiah He should be and the kind of a Kingdom which He desired them to build. After Peter's confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mt.16.16), Jesus said to Peter in reference to this passage, "Thou art Peter,

and upon this rock (Himself as Christ) will I build my church." (Mt. 16.18).

A great deal is involved in these passages. But the fact of interest is, that Jesus took His disciples apart for instruction. If Christ foretells all that is to follow, and if, as the text seems to indicate, after the confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi, the disciples were asked to keep silence, and Jesus did begin to show the disciples all that must follow and that He was to leave them, it seems as though this would be a time of private teaching to the disciples. It appears that it would be a time when the disciples, conscious that Christ was not be with them long, would make notations of that which the Lord was saying and doing, as well as of the events and words which had happened. Peter, or someone close to Peter, probably did at some time during Jesus' ministry on earth, or very shortly after, make some notation regarding what the Lord said and did. This was later referred to as a basis for that which Mark used in the Gospel which bears his name.

At once, one might ask, "Do you mean to say it was that document, which some have called Ur-Markus?" The answer is, "No."

Let one assume that Peter's record, plus what Mark added, did exist as Ur-Markus. Then, might one say that Matthew, Mark, and Luke based their works on the same document, and that where one finds inexact copyings, one can account for the changes, corrections, additions, or parts dropped out. If Mark and Matthew copied correctly, then Luke would vary

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fact of interest is, that Jesus took his disciples apart
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for, and if, as the text seems to indicate, after the con-
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asked to keep silence, and Jesus did begin to teach the dis-
ciples all that must follow and that he was to leave them,
it seems as though this would be a time of private teach-
ing to the disciples. It is very hard to see how it could be a time when
the disciples, conversing with Jesus, would be left then
long, would make collections of that which the Lord was say-
ing and doing, as well as of the events and words which had
occurred. Peter, on such an issue as this, probably did
at some time during Jesus' ministry on earth, or very
shortly after, make some such collection of what the Lord
said and did. This was then referred to as a basis for that
which was used in the Council when Jesus was raised.
At times, one might say, "Do you agree to say it was that
collection, which Jesus had called the Agreement? The answer is,
"No."
But one cannot read Peter's account, and not know that
it did exist as the Agreement. Then, what one may find in
Mark, and how these things were on the same occasion, and
that were the first of the Agreement, one can account for
the change, the addition, of words dropped out.
It Mark and Matthew copied correctly, even Luke would very

from them; this does happen. However, if Matthew and Luke copied Ur-Markus exactly, and Mark copied incorrectly, Mark would be peculiar while Matthew and Luke would agree; but this condition of comparison never exists; Matthew and Luke never agree in a passage which is common to all three when Mark does not also agree with one or the other of them.

There are cases, too, where all three Gospels disagree, but this is no reason to say that Ur-Markus existed; because Matthew and Luke might both make mistakes in copying, while Mark might or might not copy correctly (if he were copying), and the lack of similarity between any two would still exist.

Hence, the possibilities of Ur-Markus can be assumed only where one can say that Mark copied Ur-Markus correctly throughout, or that, when he miscopied, Matthew and Luke also erred in their copying. But this kind of conjecturing borders near to the impossible.

Dr. F. C. Burkitt says in regard to the strange content and expressions of Mark, "All these peculiarities of Mark may be summed up as exhibiting unecclesiastical unconventionality, a characteristic which we might expect to find in a primitive document coming from the circle of the earliest Christians and written before it had been considered what style of writing was appropriate for telling the story of our Lord's ministry. All these things tend to demonstrate the originality of our Mark, and therefore to show that Ur-Markus either never existed or was almost indistinguishable from the Mark we possess. But the most

From them; this does happen. However, if Markham and Lake
copied Mr. Markham's exactly, and Mark copied incorrectly,
Mark could be mistaken while Markham and Lake would agree;
but this condition of comparison never exists; Markham and
Lake never agree in a passage which is common to all three;
when Mark does not also agree with one or the other of them.
These are cases, too, where all three would dis-
agree, but this is no reason to say that Mr. Markham existed;
because Markham and Lake would both make mistakes in copy-
ing, while Mark might or might not copy correctly. It be-
came possible, and the lack of similarity between any two
would still exist.
Hence, the possibility of Mr. Markham can be obtained
only where one can say that Mark copied Mr. Markham correctly
independently of Mark, when he misquoted, Markham and Lake
also wrote in their copy, but this kind of coinciden-
ce between Mark and the impostor is
Dr. P. F. Marshall says in regard to the strange con-
fession and exposure of Mark, "All these coincidences of
Mark may be regarded as coinciding in a psychological im-
pression, a psychological state which we might expect
to find in a person's document coming from the circle of
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show that the originality of our Mark, and therefore to
show that Mr. Markham either never existed or was almost in-
distinguishable from the Mark we possess. But the word

convincing argument against postulating a literary source behind our Mark remains to be noticed. It is this - that the hypothesis of the Ur-Markus presupposes an interest in the biographical details of the public life of Jesus Christ, of which there is little trace elsewhere." (1)... "Both the merits and the defects of the Gospel according to Mark seem to me to show that we are dealing with that^{which} is, from a literary point of view, an original document and not an adaptation of something else." (2)

Dr. B.W. Bacon makes this remark regarding Papias' statement concerning Mark and his order, and the possibility of an Ur-Markus, "Critics who argue for an Ur-Markus as the work Papias and the Elders had in view generally do so on the ground that the Elders criticize the order of the work, whereas no gospel known to us has an order historically as good as Mark's , and even such historical value as attaches to the order of the other Gospels is derived from Mark. The fact is undeniable. There should be no failure to admit that relatively to others Mark's order has more traces of historicity. Without some real connection, nearer or more remote, with an eye-witness such as Peter even Mark's minimum of historical movement from beginnings in Capernaum to exile in 'the coasts of Tyre and Sidon....would hardly have survived. But why should Papias' criticism of Mark's order require as its basis some other Gospel of Mark than ours, if he was mentally comparing Mark with Matthew--or for that matter with John?....The Elder needed nothing

conviction against a man regarding a literary source
having any work remains to be noticed. It is this - that
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the biographical details of the public life of these writers,
at which there is little space elsewhere. (1) ... both the
writers and the history of the people according to their own
as to show that we are dealing with that is, from a first-
any point of view, an original document and not an adaptation
of something else. (2)

Dr. H. W. Henshaw makes this remark regarding history:
statement some thing like and in order, and the possibility
of an U. S. Marine. "History was argued for an U. S. Marine as the
work of history and the U. S. Marine and in view generally do so on the
ground that the U. S. Marine is the order of the work.
whereas no special reason to us as an order historically as
good as that's, and even such historical value as attaches
to the order of the other people is derived from that.
The fact is undeniable. There should be no failure to state
that the U. S. Marine is the order of the work as more than of
historical. Almost some kind of connection, almost as more
recent, with an eye-witness with us rather than with a mini-
mum of historical statement from beginning to the present
to exist in the order of the and then.... would hardly
have survived, but why should the U. S. Marine of the
order people as its main some other kind of order of the
order, it is not really something new with history -
for that matter with history.... The U. S. Marine is the

more than a moment's survey of the Gospel of Mark to reveal its lack of taxis." (1)

Says Peake regarding the same thing, "We need not argue for an earlier Mark on the ground which has sometimes been put forward that our Gospel does not correspond to the description of Mark's work given by Papias, and that we must therefore suppose that this description originally applied to another form of the Second Gospel than that which we possess". (2)

Most references to various scholars regarding an Ur-Markus lead to this conclusion: Evidence and possibility of positing an Ur-Markus are very unsoundly supported. This writer does ~~not~~ hold to an Ur-Markus, but he does hold that there were some written fragments, which existed about 40 A.D., had their source within the narrow group of the Lord's disciples, and were in Peter's possession at some time when he had contact with Mark. Mark, as we have it, is not a copy of an Ur-Markus, but an original document in itself, based on Peter's notations, supplemented perhaps with his remembrances.

Two interesting bits of help are given by A.H. Mc Neile and W. C. Allen. The former makes this statement, (3) "Behind our Gospels lay these two strata - written testimonia,

(1) The Gospel of Mark, p. 47;

(2) Introduction to the New Testament, p. 114;

(3) Introduction to the New Testament, pp. 4,6.

more than a moment's survey of the Gospel of Mark to reveal
its lack of reality. (1)

But the points regarding the same thing, "it need not arise
for an earlier Mark on the ground which has sometimes been
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itself, based on Peter's recollections, supplemented perhaps
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Neill and W. C. Allen. The former makes this statement, (3)
"Behind our Gospel lay three or more - written testaments."

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- (1) The Gospel of Mark, p. 47.
 - (2) Introduction to the New Testament, p. 114.
 - (3) Introduction to the New Testament, pp. 8, 9.

or old Testament proofs, and oral reminiscences; these later, however, in many cases, would before long be written down, also in Aramaic, and treasured as fresh material by mission preachers.....Behind our Gospels two lines of tradition are traceable - St. Matthew's Aramaic Collection of the Lord's discourses, and St. Peter's Aramaic instructions." But Mark, he would hold, was written after 64 A.D., McNeile's reference to the fact that the oral reminiscences were early written down in Aramaic, and used by early mission preachers, is a reasonable conjecture, since a written source behind the early mission preachings was needed for the sake of uniformity.

Dr. W. C. Allen's contribution reveals this: "If then we are right in dating the First Gospel about 50 A.D., we have a further limit for St. Mark. His Gospel must be prior to that date, and fall between 30 and 50. Now it is clear from the early chapters of Acts that Peter was prominent in Jerusalem as a leader of the little society of disciples of Jesus the Messiah (The First Gospel reflects this rightly). There about the year 39, St. Paul stayed with him a fortnight. But in 44 St. Peter was obliged to leave Jerusalem (Acts 12.17), and we do not find him there again until the Council some five years later (Acts 15). During this interval the Second Gospel may well have been written. The absence of Peter from Jerusalem would suggest the writing down of his teachings to compensate for the loss of

his personal presence, and none was so fitted for this work as John Mark. If written at Jerusalem, the Gospel would naturally have been composed in the Aramaic, and there is much in its style and language to suggest this. But St. Mark did not stay long in Jerusalem. He left with his cousin Barnabas for Antioch, and there (c.44-47) it may have been found desirable to translate the Gospel into Greek.....The Second Gospel may quite well have been re-edited at Rome; but if so, the changes made in it cannot have been many." (1)

Montefiore holds that there never was an Aramaic Mark: there were Aramaic written sources. He says further, "So far as we know...Mark is not only the oldest Gospel, but the first Gospel. There were sources behind them, even written sources, but no continuous Gospel." (2)

A great deal of sound scholarship concludes that, although there was not an Ur-Markus, there were early written Aramaic sources, to which Mark had access when he compiled his Gospel with Peter's help. Undoubtedly, Moffatt meant something like this when he said, "Results regarding oral tradition and written documents are that the problem is primarily one of literary criticism. The Gospels are books made out of books; (3) none of them is a document which simply transcribes the oral teaching of an apostle or apostles. Their agreements and differences cannot be explained except

(1) H. B. D. Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, Vol, I, p. 475;

(2) The Synoptic Gospels, p. xxvii;

(3) The underlining belongs to the writer of this paper.

on the hypothesis of a more or less close literary relationship, and while oral tradition is a uera causa, it is only a subordinate factor in the evolution of our canonical Greek Gospels." (1)

The Gospels, and especially Mark, are "books made out of books." In the case of Mark, it is a Gospel finally composed by Mark from the written sources, probably Aramaic, given to him by Peter, aided by the remembrances of Peter and Mark himself.

Patristic tradition offers further information which confirms the idea that the Gospel of Mark was based upon written doctrines, behind which was the help of Peter, rather than the Second Gospel being derived from oral tradition.

According to Irenaeus, ii.i.I (Eusebius H.E.v.8), "And after their exodus (i.e., the death of Peter and Paul) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, having committed to writing the things that Peter used to preach delivered them to us." This quotation indicates clearly that Mark had earlier taken down the sayings of Peter regarding the Lord, rather than that he had first written his Gospel. It bears the idea that the writings by Mark could have been made before Peter's death, while the Gospel itself could have been put into form after the death of the disciple.

Clement of Alexandria in his writings makes two statements relative to this problem. "It is said that when Peter had publicly preached the word in Rome, and declared the Gospels by inspiration, those who were present, being many, urged

(1) Introduction to the New Testament, p. 180.

Mark, as one who had followed him from a distant time, and remembered what he said, to record what he stated, and that he, having made his Gospel, gave it to those who requested him; and that Peter, when he was aware of this, took pains neither to hinder him nor to encourage him." (Fragmn. Hypotyp; p. 1016) And, again, (H. E. 11.15, Eusebius), "Mark, whose Gospel is extant, who was a follower of Peter"; Peter "was pleased with the zeal of the men, and authorized the writings to be read by the Churches."

Origin furthermore says (Eus. H. E. vi. 25) that "Mark made his Gospel as Peter guided him." Jerome (a.d. Hedib. II) remarks that the Second Gospel was formulated "Petro narrante et illo scribente". Tertullian (Contr. Marc. IV. 5) Adds, "The Gospel of Mark is maintained to be Peter's, whose interpreter he was,.....for it is possible that that which scholars publish should be regarded as their master's work." Eusebius (H.E.ii.16) quotes that St. Mark was "Preaching himself in Egypt the Gospel which he composed."

These references confirm the statement that written fragments composed of Peter's sayings which Mark wrote down, lie behind the Second Gospel. Formgeschichte makes no reply to patristic tradition in regard to the documents behind the Gospel of Mark.

Q and Formgeschichte.

After one has made a study of the Gospel of Mark, and the parallel passages in Luke and Matthew, and has decided the sources directly behind that material are Peter and Mark, (rather than oral tradition), one's problem is only partially completed: one must then examine and study Q and other bits of fragmentary material to see if that material looks like "form" material.

Q may be defined as the "hypothetical document whose contents are inferred from those passages in the first and third Gospels which are identical or nearly identical, and whose similarity is not accounted for by a common derivation from the second Gospel." (1)

The early document might also be called "Logia", which could have been more than "sayings." Whether these two terms are interchangeable is a problem of controversy. Eusebius quotes Papias in the oldest Christian tradition in regard to the constructing of the Gospels, "Matthew, accordingly, wrote (or compiles) the oracles in the Hebrew language, and every man translated them as he was able." Crum thinks that the above description fits Q very well, as Q is primarily a group of sayings which, according to Aramaic scholars, had the atmosphere of being a translation that passes from the Aramaic into the Greek.

Papias' statements cannot be placed very much prior

(1) J. M. C. Crum, The Original Jerusalem Gospel, p. 10.

to 120 a.d. . According to Moffatt, "As Papias was an ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ to Irenaeus, and as, on the other hand, he looked back to his connection with the oral tradition of the presbyters as an old episode when he composed his book, the date of that volume cannot be put much earlier than a.d. 120. If the De Boor fragment, which makes him mention people, who, after being raised from the dead by Jesus, lived 'till the age of Hadrian', is really a quotation, the date would have to be carried down at least another decade; but it is not a quotation (probably a mere blunder for 'Quadratus' on the part of Philip Sidetes, who makes the excerpt from Eusebius), and the terminus ad quem for this writing's composition is not later than a.d. 160. It may be dated in 140 (5)-160 (Harnack), 140-150 (Westcott), 130-140 (Lightfoot), or 125 (Zahn)." (1)

If such a time as 125-140 be taken for the statement of Papias, authenticity of such a statement could well be accepted, as Papias could easily have come into contact with the second generation of disciples; that is, disciples of John, James, Peter, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, and other elders.

"The language of Q is a language of homely village life, of men ploughing or harvesting, of women grinding at the handmill or baking at the oven, of children, hungry, or playing at weddings or funerals, or asleep on the floor, of open country and open skies, the birds nesting, the fox in his earth, the wild flowers, the hen and the chickens that peep between her feathers. But it is not the language of some undefined 'village life' that is there. It is Galilean village

(1) Introduction to the New Testament, p. 185.

in 1902, according to the report, "the paper was an

English (German) translation, and was, on the other hand,

he looked back on his conversation with the other translation

of the translation of an old volume which he mentioned his

book, the date of that volume cannot be put much earlier

than 1812. It was the first fragment, which was the

original people, who, after being released from the band of

force, lived 'with the eye of history', as they say, and

therefore, the date would have to be earlier than 1812.

Another document, but it is not a translation; probably a

note written for 'translation' on the part of Philip Schiller.

who wrote the excerpt from Humboldt, and the translation of

them for the writer's composition is not later than 1812.

180. It may be dated in 180 (180-180 (Humboldt), 180-180

(Humboldt), 180-180 (Humboldt), or 180 (Lange).")

It must be a time as 180-180 is taken for the statement

of paper, substantiation of which a statement could well be

accepted, as the text itself has been in contact with

the second generation of the text; that is, the origin of

John, John, Philip, Philip, Thomas, and other others.

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life. Nature is there, Old Testament language comes into it as many times as farm-work language. If you count 300 verses, you may count 50 Old Testament allusions in them." (1)

A reader notices that the material in Matthew and Luke, not found in Mark, has an apocalyptic note and an occasional mysterious atmosphere, it sounds like material that had its source on Jerusalem soil; it speaks a different language and breathes a different atmosphere from the material in Mark. Q is Judaistic; one feels oneself in Jerusalem. That Q is a Jerusalem source seems the most reasonable conclusion for one to make in view of the atmosphere, the phraseology, the descriptions, the numerous references to the Old Testament, and the readiness to be translated into the Aramaic (according to Burney). If such be true, the most likely sources behind Q are the disciples, - Peter, and the rest of the Twelve, and the 500 and James. They were the most ready and the most capable to give a reliable account regarding the Lord and His ministry.

Burkitt is not willing to identify Q with the Logia. He believes that one must assume a lost document which Matthew and Luke used in addition to Mark. This, however, is not identical with the Logia. Papias, he argues, had Messianic-proof-texts in mind from the Old Testament, rather than the Logia, which one commonly refers to as a source. Says Peake regarding this, "It is of course significant that such passages have great prominence in

(1) Crum, The Original Jerusalem Gospel, p.64.

Matthew, and it is probable that at a very early period in the history of the Church collections of these texts were drawn up for use by Christians in their controversies with Jews. At the same time, these passages constitute a rather small part of the entire work, so that it is not quite easy to understand why the name Matthew should have become attached to the whole Gospel. It is easier to understand if it incorporated so large a work as the collection of discourses.....It is true that no certainty in the matter is attainable, but it seems still to remain the most probable view that the work of Papias was the Semitic original of Q. It is more likely that the original language was Aramaic than Hebrew." (1)

W.W.Holdsworth remarks as follows regarding the term 'Logia': "Another descriptive title used formerly in speaking of this source, (i.e., the non-Markan element), is the word 'Logia'. But this again is open to misconception. For the same word seems to be used, notably in Romans iii.2, where we should use the word 'Scriptures'. Such a term then might denote a document which contained as much narrative as discourse, or it might be used in a more strictly etymological sense to describe more oracular sayings. The uncertainty would then arise

(1) Introduction to the New Testament, pp. 113-114.

whether, when the word was used by any particular scholar, it was taken to cover a source consisting entirely of sayings, or whether it connoted one which contained a certain amount of historical matter, or in other words a 'Gospel', as the word is understood in our days." (1)

Since the problem is so hypothetical, no positive conclusion can be deduced whether one should call the non-Markan material in Luke Logia or Q. If one calls it Q, one can so call it with the forethought that, if Q is greater than the Logia, Q can be a term which includes Logia. Logia, we are safe in assuming, if smaller than Q is at least part of Q. So far as the problem of Q and Formgeschichte here is concerned, such a presupposition is satisfactory.

Professor Holdsworth concludes after having made a study of patristic and modern scholarship, "that it (Logia) was originally written in Aramaic. This is borne out by other statements made both by Origin and Irenaeus. It follows from this that if the first Gospel contains St. Matthew's contribution to the Gospel story, it had been translated into Greek before it was added to the Markan narrative which the first Gospel undoubtedly contains. St. Matthew's work was not a mere collection or

(1) Gospel Origins, pp. 37-38.

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accumulation of sayings. There was some method and plan in the matter. He arranged the sayings. The word **συνετάξατο**

seems to indicate some classification or distribution of the sayings, and a more or less topical arrangement is at once suggested. The phrase 'each one interpreted them as he was able' points to the use of these sayings in the assemblies of the Christian congregations, as we have already suggested. They formed exegetical material for moral and spiritual exhortations in the earliest Church, as they still do in the later Church of our own times." (1)

The results of most scholarship indicate that Q was early put into a written form, and thus used for a unified edification of the early Churches. It is interesting to note that the Formgeschichte scholars deal more with the narrative material of Mark (and parallels) than with the Q material. Sayings would remain sayings as a whole, while narrative material, with sayings inserted, would offer a target for those who would attempt to see certain small intricacies which would betray forms. Yet, Q is dealt with by the Formgeschichte students; and it should be dealt with here.

However, if the material called Q was early written down, possibility of Formgeschichte entering in is weakened. St. Paul, in writing to the Corinthian Church about 55 A.D. seemed to have a clear knowledge of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, which took place twenty-five years

(1) Gospel Origins, p. 41.

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price, "I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the scriptures; and that he appeared to Cephas; then to the twelve; then he appeared to about five hundred at once, of whom the greater part remain until now, but some are fallen asleep..."(1)

Such reference made by Paul to one of the Churches he had founded points quite clearly that some kind of authority of a written nature was known by him and by his Churches. Q was probably written down a decade or more before this statement of Paul's. Says Crum, "But whatever the name, the document which makes the claim which Q makes, cannot lightly be ignored. It may be the year 40 or 45 A. D. speaking of what it knows to the twentieth century A. D. "(2)

Canon Streeter makes Q an early written document, as his words quoted here will show. "Exhaustive is the last word to describe a work like Q which could omit all mention of the Crucifixion, or even like St. Mark, which gives such scanty fragments of the Master's teaching.

(1) I Corinthians 15:3;

(2) The Original Jerusalem Gospel, p. 12.

These astounding omissions are only conceivable in documents of an earlier age; an age in which week by week and day by day expected the Lord's return, and needed not to collect and compile for a posterity which would never be born; an age when the witnesses were so many and the tradition so vivid, that it was impossible to think of being exhaustive, and he who wrote, wrote only a selection for a special purpose; an age when to put 'the Gospel' in writing meant to compose not a biography of the Master, but an epitome of his message." (1) And again "Q was only written down to fix material, which one would be likely to forget. No one would be likely to forget that Jesus had died on the Cross." (2) Streeter continues regarding the omission in the Crucifixion and the attitude of Q, "It was not to retell this tale, but to provide a convenient authority on points not of such common knowledge, that Q was written. That is to say, Q is perfectly intelligible as a document written to supplement the living tradition of a generation that had known Christ. Within a dozen years after the event something of that kind would be needed. It is not intelligible as a document thirty or forty years later, when the events which Q presupposes as matter of common knowledge were a generation old." (3)

These citations strengthen the view that Q con-

(1) Studies in the Synoptic Problem, pp.212 ff.; (2) Ibid., p.215;

(3) G. H. Box, St. Matthew, The New Century Bible, p. 17.

sisted of the fragments written at an early date, even at a time when the Second Coming hope had been abandoned. They were written down in Aramaic, were collected together and were then used for edification of the early members of the Christian groups. Later, Matthew and Luke incorporated them into their Gospels. If one follows the tradition given by Papias, it was Matthew who did the work of collecting these sayings together. The early Christians, who were concerned in retaining the words of Jesus, probably made transcriptions of Jesus' words for uniform edification. Papias' tradition emphasizes this; human nature, when in possession of something worthwhile, and desiring others to obtain that treasure, usually does all it can to make others see the value of its treasure. The attitude of consecrated early Christians was like this; Christians who were willing to undergo persecution for a great cause were willing as well to put forth all energy and means for widening of their worthy cause. Formgeschichte, with its subjective approach and without any patristic tradition in its favor, is not able to negate the early writings which tend to discount their theory.

It seems odd that the Formgeschichte scholars do not find forms consistently in the first three Gospels, but see them in certain places only, especially in the Markan material. Furthermore, these scholars do not explain by their method why the Jerusalem atmosphere is so strongly prevalent in the early mission preaching on Gentile soil. Scholarship strongly disfavors their attitude toward Q.

The question here arises: Did Mark know Q? Mark undoubtedly knew Q, but did not find it necessary to use Q, since he was more concerned with the narrative material. Also, if both Mark and Q relate to early written fragments, so far as the problem of oral tradition and Formgeschichte is concerned, it makes no difference to the problem of this dissertation whether Mark had acquaintance with Q or not.

There is, however, a subsidiary point in the problem of Q and Formgeschichte which needs some discussion and clarification here. It is the problem of Q and the four-document hypothesis. Canon Streeter in his Four-Gospels contributes a chapter (1X) to his four-document idea.

Instead of there being but two sources back of the first three Gospels, there were four sources. Behind the non-Markan material in Luke, there are at least two other sources, Q and L, while behind the non-Markan matter in Matthew, Q and M stand. M, due to its Judaistic nature, is a Jerusalem source; L is from Caesarea; and Q is Aramaic, -a document translated by an Antiochian, in all probability by Matthew for Galilean Christians. So, behind Luke are Antioch, Caesarea, and Rome: in back of Matthew are Jerusalem, Antioch, and Rome. Antioch and Rome sources are in both Matthew and Luke, since the Churches at those two places were of vast importance; the other sources, however, would have just as much authenticity.

Streeter believes that the two-document theory has broken down, especially in view of the fact that a theory, which tries to establish "two recensions of Q, designated as Q^{Mt.} and Q^{Lk.}", has been put forward to meet the difficulty. But

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp contrast to the warm blanket I had been under. I looked up at the sky, which was a pale, overcast grey. The air was thick with a damp, wintry mist. I took a deep breath, feeling the cold air fill my lungs. The ground beneath my feet was a mix of wet pavement and patches of snow. I walked slowly, my boots crunching on the snow. In the distance, I could see the faint outlines of buildings and trees, their forms softened by the mist. The overall atmosphere was one of quiet solitude and a sense of being in a new, unfamiliar world. I felt a small pang of loneliness, but it was quickly replaced by a sense of adventure. This was my first experience of winter in a foreign land, and I was determined to make the most of it. I continued to walk, my mind racing with thoughts of the journey ahead. The cold was a challenge, but it was also a reminder of the beauty of the season. I smiled to myself, knowing that this was just the beginning of a memorable trip.

Dr. Streeter, in his four-document theory, has impressed his readers that one cannot be too dogmatic or absolutely certain of the two-source hypothesis; but the question arises if he has done any more. Does not his theory resolve down in the last analysis to the two-document hypothesis at the beginning,--that is, Mark and Q? Mark of course, in his theory, goes direct as a source to Matthew and Luke. It is the splitting up of Q, therefore, that attracts one's main interest.

If one takes a casual glance at the diagram regarding the four-document hypothesis, one will observe that L and Q, making up Proto-Luke, directly make up Luke, with the aid of Mark. If Q appears in Antioch in 50, and L in Caesarea in 60, and M in 65 at Jerusalem, it seems fair to say, "All these sources M, L, and Q had a source which naturally arose in Jerusalem, called Q." The writer believes such to be the case, since Jerusalem between 30 and 50 (the earliest dates Streeter gives for any of the sources) was the most natural place for documents to arise concerning Christ. Jerusalem, rather than Caesarea or Antioch, was the center of Jewish life.

The sources from Antioch (Q) and Caesarea (L) might have entered into Luke, via Proto-Luke, but it does not follow that the Q and the L sources were derived from the fragments of the original Jerusalem Q. Streeter traces the origin of these sources to Jerusalem soil. He believes that they travelled over to Antioch and Caesarea through some of the missionaries who were preaching there, and were then gathered together by Luke in his first attempt at a Gospel, Proto-Luke.

So far as the problem of Formgeschichte is concerned, the four-document hypothesis has little bearing, since this theory, as well as the two-document theory, points to written documents behind the Synoptic Gospels, and is concerned with sources rather than forms.

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The Possibilities of Fragments or a Pre-Canonical Gospel which Existed before the Synoptic Gospels.

When the evangelist Luke made the following remark, "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us", (1) it is safe to assume that he was not using words for the prettiness of them. He meant that many had written down the sayings and happenings regarding Jesus. What Luke is referring to here, - the possibility of there being other written documents prior to the Synoptic Gospels, - is the view of this dissertation.

The position of Formgeschichte is weakened, if written documents existed before extensive preaching started on Gentile soil.

Much has been done by linguistic scholars in regard to the possibility of early written documents lying behind the Synoptic Gospels. A. Resch has done especially intricate research concerning the possibility of a pre-canonical Gospel. A short sketch of his method will help one to see the possibilities of early written sources existing before the Gospel of Mark or the embodied Q. In regard to "die Existenz einer vorcanonischen Quellenschrift" Resch says, "Schon vor den Marcusevangelium existierte eine, ursprünglich hebräisch (bezw. aramäisch) geschriebene frühzeitig verloren, aber noch von sämtlich drei

(1) Luke 1.1.

Synoptike benutzte vorcanonische Evangelienschrift, deren praeponderierenden Inhalt in den Reden Jesu stand." (1) "Die verschiedenen Übersetzungen des vorcanonischen Evangeliums, - schon frühzeitig ist die vorcanonische Quellenschrift aus dem semitischen Grundtext ins griechische Idiom verschieden übertragen worden, sodass man einen judenchristlichen, ein lucanisch-paulinischen und einen alexandrischen Übersetzungstypus unterscheiden kann." (2) Resch's position is in harmony with the views of scholars as Torrey, W.C.Allen, J.T. Marshall, Burney, and others.

That which is of most value to us, as given by Resch's attitude regarding the reconstruction of the pre-Gospel sources, is illuminating. He says about "die Instanzen für die Rekonstruktion der vorcanonischen Evangelienquelle",

- "1. Sämtliche im Marcusevangelium fehlende Parallelen zwischen Lucas und Matthäus. 2. Die Redestoffe (und namentlich auch die Gleichnisse), welche Matthäus allein hat.
3. Die Redestoffe, welche sich allein bei Lucas finden, darunter ebenfalls sämtliche Gleichnissreden. 4. Zahlreiche Erzählungs und Redestoffe, welche allen drei Synoptikern gemeinsam sind, besonders die von B. Weiss ausgezeichneten.
5. Eine Anzahl echter Agrapha, d.h. aussercanonische Reste der vorcanonischen Urschrift. 6. Die synoptischen Parallelen in den canonischen Lehrschriften einschliesslich der Apokalypse. Dazu kommen noch als subsidiare Indicien.

Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien, (1) p. 62; (2) p. 63.

7. Alle hebräisierenden Texte, welche auf einen hebräischen Urtext zurückwiesen. 8. Solche variierenden Ausdrucksweisen in den drei synoptischen Bearbeitungen der Urschrift, welche als verschiedene Übersetzungen eines gemeinsamen hebräischen Urtextes sich erklären lassen. 9. Diejenigen aussercanonischen Lesarten im Cod. Bezae, in den alten Versionen, in den patristischen Evangeliencitaten, welche auf dieselbe Weise als Übersetzungsvarianten sich erklären." (1)

Resch mentions these earlier writings, which were later translated into the Greek, as being most probably of Hebrew origin; but he is not dogmatic about this, as his words show, "Ursprünglich hebräisch (bezw. aramäisch)." C.F. Burney discusses this point in a particular reference to Schmiedel. He feels that scholars have mixed up the distinctions between Aramaisms and Hebraisms. "By some scholars, in fact, the question of distinction is ignored, and the two terms are used indifferently as though they were synonyms. A glaring instance is to be seen in Professor Schmiedel's remarks on the original language of St. Mark's Gospel." (1) Burney says in refutation of Schmiedel's position, "Mark does not Hebraize at all in the proper sense of the term; but the fact that his Greek exhibits a strong Aramaic colouring is admitted by all Semitic scholars who have studied the subject, though they differ as to whether this colouring implies actual translation from an original Aramaic document, or is merely due to the fact that the author was ill-versed in Greek and accustomed to think and speak in Aramaic.... A number of Marcan Aramaisms remain in Luke." (1)

Burney continues to say further concerning Mark,

(1) The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 7 f.

"Here we have the work, not of a Hellenist who studied the LXX, but of a Palestinian Jew who either actually wrote in Aramaic, or whose mind was so moulded by Aramaic idiom that his Greek preface reflected it." (1)

In his Introduction to the New Testament, Moffatt supports; (if support is to be given to the possibility of a pre-Gospel) the idea which Burney has postulated above. He says, "If any Semitic Gospel is to be postulated, Aramaic (so, e. g., Lessing, Eichhorn) is much more likely than Hebrew to have been its language, and the relevant facts of the case can be met by allowing for Aramaic sources behind the gospels and for the Aramaic background of their oral tradition (cp. W. C. Allen in OSS. 288 f.). Misconception by Greek translators of a Semitic phrase is indeed a vera causa in the interpretation, e. g., of some passages from Q, the common source of Mt. and Lk., which existed in different recensionsThe synoptic variant renderings of a common Semitic original, it must be allowed, usually give a good sense; it may not be the exact sense of the original, but it is intelligible, and generally it is consonant with the characteristic aims and traits of the gospel in which it occurs." (2)

(1) Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, p. 17;

(2) Introduction....., p. 181.

He says further in regard to Papias' quotations from the presbyter, "Both the Petrine oral teaching and the Matthaean book of the Logia were in Aramaic; but while Mark's Gospel fixed the former in Greek shape, the latter was for some time circulated without any such definite editing."

(1) The point of value is, that there were probably early written Aramaic fragments which were known and used before the Gospel of Mark came into use.

Some of the most thorough work in the formulating of an early Aramaic Gospel was done in the latter part of the nineteenth century by J. T. Marshall. Most of his articles were brought forth in "The Expositor" in 1892-93.

His task in these writings is stated thus: "We wish to address ourselves in a series of articles..to prove the existence of an Aramaic Gospel embedded in our present Gospel and to unveil its contents." (2) Of the three divisions of the Aramaic dialects, - Syriac, Mandaitic, and Palestinian, - the last finds usage in such places as Daniel 2.4 - 7.28; Ezra 4.8-16; Jeremiah 10.11; and the Book of Tobit. Jesus himself used Aramaic as is obvious in Mark 7.34, where *εφφαθα* is used for euphony, and in the house of Jarius, where he uses the expression, 'Abba'. The position of Aramaic sources is strengthened in the Papias tradition.

(1) Introduction...., p. 188;

(2) Expositor, Jan., 1891, p.1.

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Papias learned from John the presbyter that Matthew compiled the oracles in the Hebrew (Aramaic?) language, and each one interpreted them as he was able." (1) A further historical reference regarding the same thing is, "Pantaenus, who preached among 'the Indians', says that Bartholomew had preceded him, and left there the writing (γραφή) of Matthew in Hebrew letters." (2)

Marshall goes on to state his purpose more explicitly, "It is our intention to advance a method which will serve as a touchstone to decide on the contents of the Aramaic Logia, and we shall find that it contained almost all the discourses of Jesus and some of the narratives in a condensed form. And as to the connection between the Aramaic Matthew and our present first Gospel, we believe that our Greek Gospel is a second and enlarged edition of the Aramaic, written after the lapse of some years, when the church had begun to realize that it is not the words of Christ that demand our attention merely, but that His life and works are also Divine oracles, revealing to us the Father." (3)

Various scholars have contributed views that strengthen Marshall's view. Eichhorn, for example, said that the Urevangelium was Syro-Chaldaic, which in 44 sections the Synoptists have in common; this was written about the time that Stephen was stoned. Marshall says regarding Eichhorn's theory, "Its chief fault was its dead mechanism. It quite

(1) Expositor, Jan., 1891, p.14,

(2) Ibid., p. 189; (3) Ibid., p. 15.

ignored the fact that each Gospel has its raison d'être." (1)

Schleiermacher regarded the Logia as just a collection of the Lord's sayings. Proto-Mark was the group of notes which Peter gave Mark. Papias' words referred to this Proto-Mark. Knobel believed that the Logia (Aramaic) and the canonical Mark were the oldest documents. Meyer contended that the Aramaic Matthew was enlarged by weaving historical material into it.

Each of these views points to early Aramaic documents. As one views the early Greek harmony, one is aware that there are many passages in which a particular evangelist may be peculiarly alone; sometimes the writers of the Gospels will all agree verbatim; and sometimes but two of them will be alike. Other parallels show the same thought, but different words. These last "we shall claim for the Logia, and shall try to show that in many instances these verbal divergences are traceable to a variant translation of a common Aramaic original." (2) "If in the parallel passages in the synoptic Gospels we find 'resemblances in substance, but not in words', this is the indication that first places us on the alert. If in such parallel passages we notice an unusually rich Aramaic colouring, and if the verbs differ in voice or tense, we have confirmatory evidence." (3)

(1) Ibid., p. 189; (2) Ibid., February, 1891, p. 113;

(3) Ibid., p. 134.

It is by such a process that Marshall has arrived at some of his conclusions. There is a great possibility that we find two Greek words in several Gospels, unlike in meaning, but whose meanings can be shown as belonging to the same Aramaic word, that the two Greek words have been originally in the Aramaic, and that the translation was made from the same. Where Aramaic, and the expressions are very numerous in the Gospels, it often can be shown in the re-translation that a mistake or confusion between two Aramaic words has arisen, thus causing the different translations to have occurred in the Greek. Similarly, where a letter in the original has been left out, or two letters have been changed about, there is a sure indication that the Greek translator had an Aramaic source.

Marshall has given exhibitions which have shown that the insertion of different vowels, the misreading of a letter, the omission of a letter, or the transposition of two adjacent letters gave him the desired results for formulating with certainty that the original Gospel was Aramaic. Quoting him in some of his general conclusions, one finds, "The longer form of the narratives is the original. The first Gospel abbreviates the narratives; the second abbreviates or omits discourses. We see further that the Aramaic Gospel was chiefly a record of the Galilean ministry." (1) "It will be observed that the Aramaic Gospel gives no certain evidence of having contained an account of the Nativity. It seems to have opened precisely as the second Gospel does." (2) "The most probable answer to

(1) Ibid., p. 94; (2) p. 95.

this problem (the date) is that the Church at Jerusalem would need a written record as an authoritative standard when the apostles left Jerusalem." (1) He believed that the Oriental memory was good, but that imaginative fancy of the Oriental would have entered in too much to regard the authenticity of such as reliable.

What Marshall has summarily developed is in direct line with this writer's position. One must read into the time of the first century, realizing the vast place Jesus was given. Consecrated men and women would hardly have gone for forty years without some written records regarding Christ. They would not have allowed such negligence to happen. Some record, probably fragmentary, would have been in their midst. Peter would have known of it, and had access to it, since Jerusalem, and its environ, would most naturally be its home. Peter was often-times here (e. g., the Jerusalem Council, Galatians 2.). The statement of Papias regards Peter as the source for Mark; such scholars as Allen, Torrey, Marshall, Burney, and others believe in early written Aramaic sources; the early Christians undoubtedly were consecrated individuals, who would not depend only upon oral tradition. These reasons point to early written Aramaic documents.

(1) Ibid., p. 96.

A Concluding Comment.

The detailed discussion of this chapter has brought forth some obvious points. That there were written documents, possibly composed as early as 40 A.D. in Aramaic, seems quite probable. Translations, patristic tradition, and research of outstanding scholars help to confirm such a view.

Consequently, with the early transcribing of Gospel fragments, the possibility of oral tradition controlled only by Formgeschichte as the basis for the Synoptic Gospels is weakened. Written sources, given authority and verification by the disciples and followers of Jesus, appear as the chief basis behind the first three Gospels.

Nevertheless, written sources would not necessarily account for all the material which the Gospels contain. Mark and the compiler of Q would undoubtedly have incorporated some oral stories which they had heard; and the text appears as though some of the oral material possessed a certain type of form.

Therefore, one seems justified in saying that both written sources and oral tradition lie behind the Synoptic Gospels, and that some of the oral tradition contains certain kinds of forms. Thus, Formgeschichte and written sources are supplements as one attempts to make a solution of the Synoptic Problem.

S U M M A R Y A N D C O N C L U S I O N .

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Summary and Conclusion.

The problem of this dissertation was stated in the introduction as follows: "(1) To inquire into the validity of Formgeschichte and its possibility as a solution for the Synoptic Problem; (2) to offer the possibility of written sources behind the Synoptic Gospels as a supplement to Formgeschichte." The major part of the dissertation was given to the first part of the problem, since it was the prime motive for the dissertation. The second division of the problem was developed in order that the readers might have a more comprehensive and constructive approach to the Synoptic Problem. It was not offered in order that one might make an "either-or" selection of Formgeschichte or written documents; it was offered that the readers might interweave its values with whatever good they found in Formgeschichte. Formgeschichte offers valuable possibilities which supplement, rather than contradict, the suggested theory in chapter five.

The development of the dissertation has brought about some definite points both for and against Formgeschichte. A recapitulation of these points will place the results before the readers in a poignant, comprehensive way.

The main points of criticism in regard to Formgeschichte are:

1. Vigorous use of Formgeschichte and rigorous employment of Formgeschichte method is likely to lead to unhealthy skepticism.

2. The disciples, who are regarded by the Formgeschichte exponents as unliterary men, are yet held to be "literary" enough to originate literary forms. This seems paradoxical.

3. The Second Gospel and Q both point to early written documents which would make the possibility of Formgeschichte less likely.

4. Bultmann classifies the authority of Jesus' sayings by a subjective process instead of resorting to the objective form material. He has attempted historical criticism in such cases, which is outside of the field of Formgeschichte.

5. Analysis of miracles, apophthegmata, paradigms, and other so-called form material does not reveal enough similarities for determining forms.

6. Too great authority has been taken in calling certain incidents legends and myths, as well as considering them as structural forms.

7. Parallel material in the Synoptic Gospels points more strongly to written documents instead of oral form-sermons as the basis for the Gospels.

8. First century Christianity was not ^{greatly} concerned with Christological discussions. These disputes arose in the second century after the new religion had been quite firmly established.

9. Dibelius is too uncertain in his definition of "sermon" in order to establish his theory.

10. Dibelius' discrimination between the paradigm and the novel is not clear and convincing.

11. Only a small portion of the Gospel material is classified into forms, so that one who desired to adopt the

1. The first point, which is the most important, is that the
theoretical part of the subject is not a mere collection of
facts and figures, but a system of ideas. This system is
based on the principle of the unity of the universe, and
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collection of facts and figures, but a system of ideas.

Formgeschichte method would not know what to do with the remaining passages.

12. Bertram, in his discussion of the Passion Story, is kultgeschichtlich and not formgeschichtlich.

13. Formgeschichte would be less concerned with the later events in the life of our Lord, like that of the Passion Story, which Bertram discusses. The events of the Passion Story are well testified by several eye-witnesses who stand close to the traditional sources behind the Synoptic Gospels.

14. An interpretation of the facts of the Passion Story points to Jesus' words preceding the "cult", rather than that the words of Jesus result from the "cult".

15. The positions held by Bertram, Bultmann, Albertz, and Dibelius do not have much objective historical support.

16. If one considers the witnesses to the Gethsemane scene, one realizes that a report of Jesus' actions and words would be psychologically possible.

17. Albertz's "Galilean Disputes" are not necessarily the product of Galilee, nor are they forms. The "Jerusalem Disputes" suffer similar criticism.

18. No objective data point to a changing conception of "Son of Man" in the Second Gospel, as Albertz attempts to show; nor can one through Formgeschichte determine that Mark 2.1-2.13 was added later.

19. Albertz's classification of forms is too broad and misleading.

20. There is little objective data to warrant saying that Jesus' opponents **are** types, as the Formgeschichte scholars

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1. In the first place, the information of the [redacted] is

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2. The [redacted] was [redacted] by [redacted] and [redacted]

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attempt to show.

21. Formgeschichte adherents have failed to realize that growing Christianity needed written documents for the sake of uniformity.

22. Those who hold to Formgeschichte and die Religions-geschichteschule have failed to recognize that Jesus would naturally use some words and sentences which were familiar to Him. The use of these familiar words points to His familiarity with our Old Testament instead of verifying forms.

23. A comparison of the classification of forms employed by Bertram, Bultmann, Albertz, and Dibelius shows similarities, yet reveals many outstanding differences.

There is, on the other hand, a great deal in Formgeschichte that calls for appreciation, as the following paragraphs will show:

1. When one considers that the recent Formgeschichte scholars (Bertram, Bultmann, Albertz, and Dibelius) worked independently of each other and arrived at conclusions that were similar in many cases, one is convinced that the text of the Synoptic Gospels offers a possible field for Formgeschichte. Their unity of definition is worthy of high appreciation.

2. The doublets showed that there were possibly various avenues of oral transmission which clothed the sayings somewhat differently. But behind the differences a certain form is discernible.

3. The Old Testament offers a fruitful field for Formgeschichte. Although the Old Testament was composed from several centuries to several thousand years before the New Testament, there is a

21. The first of these is the fact that the evidence is not sufficient to establish the fact of the commission of the crime.

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possibility that some of the Formgeschichtemethode would still be in existence at the time the New Testament was compiled.

4. Jesus resorts to a certain procedure in explaining privately to His disciples after He has talked in public. This is a certain type of Formgeschichte, even though it originated in the method of Jesus.

5. A comparison of the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptic Gospels shows that the former used the first person pronouns consistently in referring to Jesus, while the Synoptic Gospels employed the third person form. The "Son of Man" form is quite common in the Second Gospel.

6. One is able to make classifications for Formgeschichte from the standpoint of content. The material in the Synoptic Gospels falls quite naturally into the following content-forms: (1) Pedagogical and controversial disputes between Jesus and the supporters of Judaism; (2) the Logia of Jesus; (3) miracles; (4) narratives not contained in the first three groups.

7. Even though written documents can be shown to have originated at an early date, the possibility of Formgeschichte is not entirely eliminated; the possibility of its use from the structural standpoint is diminished. Forms still would exist. The earlier that written documents can be shown to exist, the less likely would Formgeschichte of a structural nature arise. Structural forms would be the product of narratives and sayings that had passed through several decades of oral transmission.

8. Each of the four Gospels is in itself a form-type, due to the coloring of the four writers.

9. Parables in the Second Gospel have a question-form for their introduction.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general survey of the literature on the subject of the history of the English language. It is found that the history of the English language is a very complex and difficult task, and that the history of the English language is a very complex and difficult task.

2. A comparison of the English language and the French language is made. It is found that the English language is a very complex and difficult task, and that the history of the English language is a very complex and difficult task.

3. The second part of the paper is devoted to a general survey of the literature on the subject of the history of the English language. It is found that the history of the English language is a very complex and difficult task, and that the history of the English language is a very complex and difficult task.

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6. The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a general survey of the literature on the subject of the history of the English language. It is found that the history of the English language is a very complex and difficult task, and that the history of the English language is a very complex and difficult task.

In conclusion one can say that Formgeschichte of a content nature exists in the Synoptic Gospels; there are certain forms of a structural nature that undoubtedly found their way into the Gospels; there are other forms, which may be either structural forms or forms employed in the method of Jesus. So far as the objective data are concerned, one must regard this last group as the method of Jesus. To say more than this is to step outside of the field of Formgeschichte into the realm of historical criticism.

Formgeschichte is a new approach to the solution of the Synoptic Problem; it may yet reveal much light. There are certain forms which are obvious in the Synoptic Gospels; the whole area of the Synoptic Gospels offers an enticing field to the student of Formgeschichte. However, it is most likely that Formgeschichte will never be able to be a sole means to solve the Synoptic Problem; much material in the Synoptic Gospels does not lend itself to form-classification. But Formgeschichte will be a valuable supplementary means to solve the Synoptic Problem.

The type of Formgeschichte approach resorted to by Bultmann, Bertram, Dibelius, and Albertz is too arbitrary, too thoroughly based on structural analyses of a detailed manner, and too much concerned with historical criticism to allow a great deal of credibility. Yet, their approach has done much to attract attention; some of their results have been of real value; and they have opened up the way to a new manner of approaching and evaluating the Synoptic Problem.

The twentieth century scholars will find Formgeschichte

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a real tool for helping to solve the Synoptic Problem, if they use it for its intended purpose, - that is, for the attempt to determine forms and not for historical evaluation. This dissertation has tried to show its possibilities as well as its limitations, for it has both. Those who hold to the fact of early written documents behind the Gospel of Mark and Q will find a very helpful, supplementary aid in the solution of the Synoptic Problem through the employment of the Formgeschichte method.

2-10-1911. The following is a list of the specimens collected by me on this date.

1. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linn.) - 1 male, 1 female.

2. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linn.) - 1 male, 1 female.

3. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linn.) - 1 male, 1 female.

4. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linn.) - 1 male, 1 female.

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8. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linn.) - 1 male, 1 female.

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August, 1911.

September, 1911. The seventh of the year.

October, 1911. The eighth of the year.

November, 1911.

December, 1911. The ninth of the year.

January, 1912. The tenth of the year.

February, 1912.

March, 1912. The eleventh of the year.

April, 1912. The twelfth of the year.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

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The writer of this dissertation, Thomas S. Kepler, was born in Mt. Vernon, Iowa on September 20, 1897. His parents are Otis L. Kepler, father, and Jeanette Travis Kepler, mother. He has one sister, Anita T. Kepler.

His secondary school education was received in the Public Schools of Mt. Vernon, Iowa, with the exception of two years spent in the fourth and fifth grades in the Public Schools of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. He graduated from Mt. Vernon, Iowa, High School in 1915. He received the degree of A.B. from Cornell College in 1921, and the degree of S.T.B. (cum laude) from Boston University School of Theology in 1927. Graduate work was taken at the University of Chicago in the Spring and Summer quarters of 1923 in Sociology. Further Graduate study has been pursued at Boston University, 1927-1928 and 1929-1930; and at the University of Marburg (Germany) and Cambridge University (England) in 1928-1929. Study in these foreign universities and travel upon the Continent of Europe was stimulated and made possible by his receiving the Roswell R. Robinson Fellowship from Boston University School of Theology for 1928-1929. He is Resident Fellow in New Testament for 1929-1930 in the Boston University School of Theology.

When this writer finished Cornell College in 1921 he became athletic director and teacher at De Witt, Iowa, High School, where he remained during 1921-1922. For two years, 1922-1924, he was athletic director of the Rock Springs, Wyoming, High School. While attending the Boston University

School of Theology, 1924-1927, he was athletic director and teacher in Chelsea Senior High School of Chelsea, Massachusetts; during these three years he also preached Spring and Summer in Windham, New Hampshire. At present he is pastor of the Pawtucket Congregational Church, Lowell, Massachusetts, having been called there in June, 1927. He is a member of the Upper Iowa Conference and is ordained Elder. He is married and has one child, Thomas S. Kepler Jr., born April 29, 1929.

The main outside interests of this writer are music and athletics. He has had five years experience in playing in symphony orchestras and has done a great deal of concert work in glee club, choral, and quartette presentations. His athletics have found him all-state basket ball center in Iowa for three years; all-conference guard in football; tennis champion of his college; and coach of athletic teams which have won state championships and which have been contestants in the national and Rocky Mountain tour.

His scholastic interests at present are in the New Testament and Philosophy.





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